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THE LIFE

OF

AUGUSTUS

VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

VOL. I.

I had my fortune before my eyes but eagerness & a bad pilot put an end to it

Yours Sincerely

A. Keppel.

THE LIFE

OF

AUGUSTUS

VISCOUNT KEPPEL,

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE,

AND FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY IN 1782—3.

BY THE

HONBLE & REVD THOMAS KEPPEL,

RECTOR OF WARHAM ST. MARY, NORFOLK.

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"Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse, quem læseris."

TACITUS, *in vit. Agric.* c. 42.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,

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TO

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL

THE HON^{BLE} GEORGE KEPPEL, F.S.A.

THESE VOLUMES

Are Dedicated,

BY

HIS AFFECTIONATE BROTHER,

THE AUTHOR.

WARHAM RECTORY,

April 23rd, 1842.

PREFACE.

THE Naval Biography of England has recently been enriched with the Lives of Anson, Rodney, and Howe, and a Memoir of Keppel, who was respectively their pupil, friend, and companion in arms, will, it is hoped, be no unacceptable addition to this department of our national history.

In writing the life of a naval commander the author of the following Memoir may appear to treat of matters foreign to his sacred office. It is therefore expedient to state, that previously to being invested with holy orders, he was a member of the profession which these illustrious men severally adorned, and that, in the usual gradations of active service, he acquired an experimental knowledge of nautical affairs. To objections that may arise from his occasional strictures on the administration of the navy, during the period embraced in Lord

Keppel's life, the author can only reply, that wherever his political sentiments occur in the following pages, he believes their introduction to be warranted, and their tenour justified, by the facts which are here—many of them for the first time—submitted to public perusal.

The grateful task must now be performed, of acknowledging the kindness of those who, by granting the author access to their private collections of manuscripts, have so materially assisted him in the prosecution of his work. Among these, especial mention must be made of the Duke of Bedford, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earls Fitzwilliam and Lichfield, Lord St. Vincent, Sir Robert Heron, Lady Jervis, General Hodgson, Major Studholme Hodgson, James De Saumarez, Esq., and William Upcott, Esq., the possessor of the most valuable private collection of autographs in England. The author must also express his obligation for the prompt and valuable aid afforded him in his researches, by Henry Bedford, Esq., Keeper of the Admiralty Records; John Barrett Lennard, Esq., of the Council Office; Robert Lemon, Esq., of the State Paper Office; Sir Henry Ellis, Mr. Holmes, and the other officers of the British Museum. And he would be guilty of great remissness, if he neglected to record

the polite attention of Baron de Bentinck,* the Chargé d'Affaires from the King of the Netherlands, to whose kindness he owes a genealogical account of the Keppel family. Other obligations will be duly and thankfully acknowledged as they are made use of.

The recognition of favours is a grateful task, so long only as those who have conferred them survive to receive our acknowledgments; but there are few duties more painful than gratitude, when death has removed its object. In the progress of his work, the writer of the present Memoir received some valuable assistance, and much kind encouragement, from the late Lord Holland. For that assistance and encouragement a simple expression of thanks would, under other circumstances, have been sufficient. But the biographer of Lord Keppel feels himself called upon, in an especial manner, to lay his tribute, however humble, at the shrine of the departed. For Keppel shared in the political principles of his illustrious relative, Charles James Fox, and the principles of Fox were inherited and transmitted with undiminished lustre by his scarcely

* The aunt of Baron de Bentinck married one of the last survivors of the branch of the family in Holland from which Lord Keppel was more immediately descended.

less illustrious nephew. The public character of Lord Holland is written indelibly in the annals of his country; but with the present generation will pass away the livelier impression of his private virtues, of his various talents, of his extensive and accurate learning, the cheerfulness and urbanity which infirmity never clouded, the wit that, always playful and poignant, never inflicted a wound, his incomparable temper, and "the daily beauty of his life." "Redditur illi testimonium æquale omnium hominum: nihil in illo fuit, quod non libenter agnosceretur." If the following pages present the reader with a more complete portraiture of Lord Keppel than hitherto it has been possible to delineate, the object of the writer will be attained. Yet one source of regret will remain to him, that the eyes are closed, and the voice is silent, that would have welcomed his attempt to perpetuate the memory of an officer whom forty years of service recommended and endeared to his country.

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THE LIFE

OF

VISCOUNT KEPPEL.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTORS OF LORD KEPPEL.

The Keppels Knights of Jerusalem in 1101—Walter van Keppel, Lord of Keppel in 1179—Oswald van Keppel, Lord of Voorst—Arnold Joost van Keppel, Lord of Voorst, accompanies the Prince of Orange to England—Created Earl of Albemarle—His handsome person—Agreeable manners—King William's affection for Albemarle—His character by Mackay—By Bishop Burnet—Accompanies King William in his campaigns—Serves under Marlborough and Eugene—Present at the sieges of Lisle and Bouchain—Takes Arras by storm—Commands the army at Denain—Is defeated—Is exculpated by Eugene—Magnificent bequest of King William—Lord Albemarle's Dutch honours—William Anne, second Earl of Albemarle—Queen Anne stands godmother to him in person—He enters the guards—Is made Knight of the Bath—Aid-de-camp to the King—Lord of the bedchamber—Colonel of horse-guards—Governor of Virginia—Lieutenant-General—Commands a division at the battle of Dettingen—Serves a campaign with Marshal Wade—Wounded at Fontenoy—Commands the front line at Culloden—Commander-in-chief in Scotland—Groom of the Stole—Knight of the Garter—Ambassador at Paris—His character by Walpole—By Lord Chesterfield—By Marmontel—Analogy between the first and second Lord Albemarle—William Anne, Lord Albemarle, marries Lady Anne Lennox—Birth of Augustus Keppel.

"A SUCCINCT Account of the Public Services of Admiral Keppel," published in 1779, states that he "was descended from one of the oldest and most

distinguished families of Guelderland,"* and that "his ancestors appear to have been knights of Jerusalem so far back as the year 1101."†

According to Sir Egerton Brydges, the founder of the family was Walter van Keppel, Lord of Keppel, a town still in existence on the left bank of the river Yssel. This Walter, who founded a monastery at Bethlehem, near Doetinchen, lived about the year 1179, and was the possessor of a castle, respecting which Sir Egerton says, that "it is not more remarkable for its antiquity than the great privileges it enjoys, a particular account whereof may be seen in the description of Guelderland."‡

By the kindness of Baron de Bentinck, chargé d'affaires from the King of Holland to the British court, the writer has been furnished with a genealogical account of the ancestors of Lord Keppel prior to their naturalization as British subjects. It appears by this document, that the Keppels always bore a prominent part in the deliberations of the assembly of nobles from the earliest formation of the Netherlands into a republic. The eleventh in direct descent from Walter was Lord Keppel's

* Menestrier, a high authority in matters of heraldry, says, "Les états les plus célèbres pour la noblesse, sont ceux de la province de *Gueldre*, où cette noblesse s'est-conservée."

† This date tallies nearly with a pedigree in the Herald's Office, tracing the nobility of the family to the year 1107.

‡ Brydges' Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 146.

great-grandfather, Oswald van Keppel, Lord of Voorst, who, according to the Dutch genealogy, had sixteen quarterings of nobility.

Oswald's son, Arnold Joost van Keppel, Lord of Voorst, accompanied the Prince of Orange to England in 1688, and soon after the accession of his royal master to the British throne, under the title of William the Third, was created Baron Ashford, Viscount Bury, and Earl of Albemarle.

This nobleman was one of the Dutch favourites against whom the English in those days used to inveigh. Yet if favouritism were ever excusable in a sovereign, it was in William the Third. His return for emancipating this country from a family whose rule, both in their native and acquired kingdoms, had ever been singularly calamitous, was to encounter, on the one hand, the bitter hostility of the Tories, and on the other, the deep ingratitude of the Whigs. The necessary result of such treatment was to drive the King to his own countrymen for that consolation and support which the jealousy of faction among his new subjects denied him.

Of all the King's followers, Albemarle possessed the strongest hold on his affections. This nobleman had few of the characteristics usually attributed to the Dutch. He was neither portly of person nor grave in demeanour, nor, it must be added, of thrifty habits; but his very handsome

features were animated by a lively disposition, and accompanied by remarkable grace and sprightliness of manners. Perhaps it was the contrast between his natural gaiety and William's constitutional phlegm that rendered him so acceptable to that monarch.

"The Earl of Albemarle," says Mackay, "was King William's constant companion in all his diversions and pleasures, and was entrusted at last with affairs of the greatest consequence. He had great influence over the King, was beautiful in person, open and free in his conversation, and very expensive in his manner of living."*

"About this time," says Bishop Burnet, "the King set up a new favourite—Keppel, a gentleman of Guelder, who was raised from a page into the highest degree of favour that any person had ever attained about the King. He was now (1695) made Earl of Albemarle, and soon after Knight of the Garter; and by a quick and unaccountable progress he seemed to have engrossed the royal favour so entirely, that he disposed of everything in the King's power. He was a cheerful young man, that had the art to please; but was so much given to his own pleasure, that he could scarce subject himself to the attendance and drudgery that was necessary to maintain his post. He had never yet

* Mackay's Memoirs, pp. 67, 68.

distinguished himself in anything. He was not cold nor dry, as the Earl of Portland was thought to be, who seemed to have the art of creating many enemies to himself, and not one friend; but the Earl of Albemarle had all the arts of a court, was civil to all, and procured many favours."*

Lord Albemarle, however, was not the mere idle courtier the bishop's sketch of him would lead us to infer. He bore a distinguished part in King William's campaigns, and after the decease of his royal master, served with much credit under the Duke of Marlborough and the Prince Eugene, with both of whom he lived on terms of much intimacy and friendship. He was of considerable assistance to the Duke of Marlborough at the sieges of Lisle and Bouchain, and in 1712 was dispatched by the Duke with thirty battalions against Arras, which he "reduced to a heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment."†

This was Lord Albemarle's last successful feat of arms. The following year, the Tories came into power, stripped Marlborough of all his appointments, forced this country to betray the cause of their allies, and enter into a secret treaty with France its enemy. Upon the dismissal of Marlborough, the office of captain-general of the confederate army was conferred upon Prince Eugene,

* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. ix. p. 429.

† Annals of Queen Anne, 1712, p. 95.

under whom Lord Albemarle was now placed as a general of the Dutch forces. The Prince gave him the command of an army of twelve thousand men, which was encamped at Denain. He was visited in the morning of the 12th August by the captain-general, who had scarcely left him when he was suddenly surprised by the celebrated Marshal Villars. His entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions killed or taken. In endeavouring to rally his men, Albemarle was himself taken prisoner. This advantage Villars gained in sight of Prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Scheld to sustain Albemarle; but the bridge over that river having been broken down by accident, he was prevented from lending him the least assistance.

This disastrous failure became the subject of official inquiry in Holland. Lord Albemarle, however, was acquitted of all blame, and even thanked for his conduct by the States General. Shortly after the defeat, Eugene himself wrote the following letter to the Prime Minister of Holland:—

"Camp at Seolin, Sept. 1, 1712.

"SIR,—I hear with surprise and sorrow the injustice the world does to my Lord Albemarle, and all the impertinent reports that go about concerning his conduct in the action at Denain. I have long been sensible that the public, being misinformed, judges of things by the event, and that the unfor-

tunate are ever blamed by the multitude. But what I wonder at is, that such slander should find admittance among persons of another character, as cannot but be broached by his lordship's enemies.

"I should think myself wanting in the duty of a man of honour, if I did not make known the truth, of which I was an eye-witness. He performed on that occasion all that a brave, prudent, and vigilant general could do; and had all the troops done their duty, the affair would not have gone as it did. But when, after the first discharge, soldiers run away, and cannot be stopped, no general in the world can help it.

"Therefore, Sir, I doubt not but on this occasion you will use your endeavours to undeceive those of the Regency who may be misinformed; and that you will be persuaded that no man can be with more veneration, Sir,

"Your most humble and
most obedient servant,
"EUGENE OF SAVOY."

The affection of King William for Lord Albemarle continued unabated to the end of his life, and his was the last name he ever uttered. In 1699, the King had given him his fine seat of Loo, in Holland, and at his death bequeathed him the lordship of Beevoorst and 200,000 guelders, the only legacy he gave away from the Prince of Nassau,

whom he made his heir. Lord Albemarle's pleasing manners seem to have procured him many complimentary embassies. At the death of Queen Anne, he was sent by the States General to congratulate her successor, George the First, upon his accession to the throne. The same year he attended Caroline, Princess of Wales, from Hanover to Rotterdam; and in 1717 he was nominated by the nobles of Holland to compliment the Czar Peter on his arrival at Amsterdam. He died in May the following year.

Besides the distinctions heaped upon him in this country, Lord Albemarle was a member of the nobles of Holland, deputy forester, general of horse and of the Swiss troops in the service of the States General, governor of Bois le Duc, colonel of a regiment of carabineers and of a regiment of Swiss, and a knight of the several orders of Zutphen, Holland, and West Friesland.*

Arnold was succeeded in his title by his only son, William Anne, which second name he derived from the Queen, who stood godmother to him in person. At the age of sixteen, he was appointed to a company in the foot guards, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. By the time he was twenty-five years of age, he became knight of the Bath, aide-de-camp to the King, and lord of the bed-

* For a further account of the family, see Appendix A., vol. i.

chamber. A few years afterwards he was appointed captain and colonel of the third troop of horse guards, and governor of Virginia.

In 1742, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and in that capacity behaved with much gallantry at the battle of Dettingen. The following year he made the campaign with Marshal Wade. In 1745, he had a command under the Duke of Cumberland, at Fontenoy, where he was wounded. At the battle of Culloden, he commanded the front line of the army, and his division bore the brunt of the action. He was, after the departure of the Duke of Cumberland, made commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland. He subsequently became groom of the stole and a knight of the Garter; and in 1748 he was sent ambassador to Paris.

The character of the second Earl of Albemarle has been sketched by various hands. Walpole says, in his sarcastic style, "His figure was genteel, his manner noble and agreeable; the rest of his merit, for he had not even an estate, was the interest my Lady Albemarle had with the King, through Lady Yarmouth, and his son, Lord Bury, being the Duke's* chief favourite. He had all his life imitated the French manners, till he came to Paris, where he never conversed with a Frenchman,

* William, the *great* Duke of Cumberland.

not from partiality to his own countrymen, for he conversed as little with them. If good breeding is not different from good sense, Lord Albemarle, who might have disputed even that maxim, at least knew how to distinguish it from good nature. He would bow to his postilion, while he was ruining his tailor."*

Lord Chesterfield thus writes to his son, Philip Stanhope, who was attached to Lord Albemarle's embassy:—"Between you and me, (for this must go no further,) what do you think made our friend Lord Albemarle colonel of a regiment of guards, governor of Virginia, groom of the stole, and ambassador to Paris—amounting in all to sixteen or seventeen thousand pounds a-year? Was it his birth? No;—a Dutch gentleman only. Was it his estate? No;—he had none. Was it his learning, his parts, his political abilities, and application? You can answer these questions easily, and as soon as I can make them. What was it then?—Many people wondered, but I do not. It was his air, his address, his manners, and his graces. He pleased, and by pleasing, became a favourite; and by becoming a favourite, became all that he has been since. Shew me any one instance where intrinsic worth and merit, unassisted by exterior accomplishments, have raised any man so high."†

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II., vol. i. pp. 71, 72.
† Chesterfield's Letters, 4to edition, vol. ii. p. 248.

Marmontel, the celebrated French novelist, gives, in his most amusing autobiography, a more flattering portrait of him than was drawn by either of his countrymen. He has been speaking of the dry manner of the Austrian Ambassador:—"Un personage tout différent du Comte de Kaunitz, étoit ce Lord d'Albemarle, ambassadeur d'Angleterre, qui mourut à Paris aussi regretté parmi nous que dans sa patrie. C'étoit par excellence, ce qu'on appelle un galant homme; noble, sensible, généreux, plein de loyauté, de fraicheur, de politesse, et de bonté, et il réunissoit ce que les deux caractères de l'Anglois et du François ont de meilleur et de plus estimable."*

The reader will hardly fail to perceive a striking analogy between both the careers and characters of the first and second Earls of Albemarle. Both the father and the son entered the army at an early age; both behaved with credit and distinction in that profession; both enjoyed an unusual share of the patronage of the crown; both contracted a most expensive habit of living; both were good-looking men; both were addicted to pleasure; and both were remarkable for an extraordinary fascination of manner.

The second Lord Albemarle married, in 1723, Lady Anne Lennox, daughter of Charles, first Duke

* Mémoires de Marmontel, tom. i. p. 342.

of Richmond, and by her had a family of fifteen children, the eldest of whom was George, Viscount Bury, afterwards third Earl of Albemarle; and the second, Augustus, the subject of the present memoir, who was born the 25th of April, 1725.

CHAPTER II.

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

A midshipman's life a century ago—Keppel enters the navy at ten years of age—Sails to the Coast of Guinea—Passes three years in the Mediterranean—Appointed to the Centurion—Accompanies Anson in his voyage round the world—His popularity on board—Remarks upon the war with Spain—Upon Anson's equipment—Departure of the squadron—Anecdote of a French captain—Keppel's description of St. Katherine's—Arrives in St. Julian Roads—The squadron weighs anchor on a Friday—Enters the Straits of Le Maire—Mortality amongst the crews—Arrives at Juan Fernandez—Keppel joins the Tryal—His description of Masafuero Fernandez—Capture of the Carmelo, and of the Teresa—Keppel boards the Carmensete—Forms one of the party sent against Payta—His account of the taking of the town—His narrow escape.

1735 TO 1741.

THE writings of Smollett have familiarized us with the kind of life led by the junior branches of the navy a century ago. While accompanying the expedition to Carthagena,—the twin expedition to that in which Keppel, as midshipman, sailed round the world,—this close and amusing observer collected the materials for his admirable description of sea characters and scenes. "The Adventures of Roderick Random," on board the Thunder man-of-war, record, as is well known, the author's personal experience as a surgeon's mate. The dirt,

the vulgarity, the harsh treatment, and the hard fare of those days, are happily matters of by-gone history. The "young gentlemen"* of the present age, while enjoying the comparative luxuries of the modern cock-pit, may congratulate themselves that the ship's allowance affords something more palatable than was served out to their predecessors, and that they have not now to regale upon "putrid salt beef, to which the sailors gave the name of Irish horse; salt pork of New England, which, though neither fish nor flesh, savoured of both; bread from the same country; every biscuit like a piece of clockwork moved by its own internal impulse, occasioned by the myriads of insects that dwelt within it; and butter served out by the gill, that tasted like train-oil thickened with salt."†

It was among scenes like these that, at the early, it might almost be said at the tender, age of ten years, Augustus Keppel commenced his professional career. In 1735 he quitted Westminster school, to enter as midshipman on board the Oxford frigate. The first two years of his noviciate were passed in this vessel off the coast of Guinea; the next three in the Mediterranean, on board the Gloucester, at that time carrying the broad pendant of Commodore Clinton. The family docu-

* "Young gentlemen," *midshipmen:* the writer has known many "young gentlemen" in the vale of years.

† Roderick Random, vol. i. p. 201.

ments contain nothing worth relating of the young sailor's life at this period, except that he applied to his professional studies with a diligence and zeal the more remarkable from the age of the student. He soon acquired both a theoretical and practical knowledge of navigation, and a proficiency in marine surveying, which proved of great service to him in after life.*

On his return from the Mediterranean in July, 1740, Keppel was appointed to the Centurion, commanded by Commodore Anson, and destined, with its accompanying squadron, for a secret expedition against the Spanish settlements on the western coast of America. He thus shared in the hardships and dangers of that celebrated voyage, which for its inauspicious commencement, its strange and protracted disasters, and its final success, is, perhaps, without a parallel in the naval annals of any country.

The zeal which Keppel evinced for his profession, his invariable good humour, and obliging disposition, and a charm of manner that in him was hereditary, made him a general favourite with all on board. At this time, also, he formed those steady friendships with Brett, Saumarez, Denis, Parker, and Campbell, which are reflected in his

* Keppel's skill in seamanship is acknowledged in Hamilton Moore's dedication of his "Practical Navigator." Vide Appendix A., vol. i.

correspondence, and which terminated only with their lives. Nor from this list of friends should the names be omitted of the two persons who, from their stations, were best qualified to form an estimate of his character,—the Commodore himself, afterwards Lord Anson, and the first lieutenant of the Centurion, afterwards Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, and both of them subsequently First Lords of the Admiralty: each of these distinguished officers testified, in different ways, his esteem for Keppel. Anson, by a constant attention to his advancement in the navy, shewed how highly he prized him as an officer; and Saunders, by a splendid testamentary bequest, proved how much he loved him as a man. With his usual quickness in the discernment of merit, the Commodore early discovered in young Keppel that promise of professional excellence which he afterwards attained, and omitted no opportunity of employing and encouraging his talents. Accordingly, during the voyage, no expedition was dispatched from the Centurion in which the subject of this memoir did not take part.

The circumstances which led to the equipment of Anson's squadron form an epoch in the history of the eighteenth century, both as leading eventually to improvements in naval economy, and as marking the first departure from that sound policy which, under a Whig government, had for so

many years secured to this nation the blessings of peace.

Our traders in the West Indies had for a considerable time carried on a contraband traffic with the subjects of Spain, in South America; and the captains of the Spanish Guarda Costas had, in retaliation, imprisoned the crews, and confiscated the cargoes of several vessels in the employment of the British South Sea Company. The whole country was aroused by the accounts which every arrival from that quarter brought of insults and atrocities committed against British subjects, and called loudly for revenge. Among the few who did not share in the almost universal frenzy was the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Steadily adhering to the pacific policy which had so long characterized his administration, he endeavoured by negotiation to avert the calamities which he foresaw would befall this country if hostilities once commenced. But in spite of his advice and remonstrances, war was formally declared against Spain in the autumn of 1739,* and the remainder of Walpole's public life was harassed by the guidance of measures which his judgment condemned, and over which he exercised but an imperfect control.

Walpole's measures were well conceived, but

* Letters of marque were issued in July. War was declared in October, 1739.

badly executed. Aware that Spain derived her principal resources from her settlements in the West Indies, the South Seas, and Manilla, it was against these points he determined to direct his attack. For this purpose he dispatched two squadrons, the one under Admiral Vernon to the West Indies, the other to the South Seas, under Commodore Anson. These, it was intended, should finally co-operate across the Isthmus of Darien,*—a project rendered abortive by the failure of Vernon's attack upon Carthagena.

Walpole was peculiarly unfortunate in the selection of the principal officers for the West Indian expedition. Neither Admiral Vernon nor General Wentworth, who, upon the death of Lord Cathcart became his coadjutor, had the requisite temper for carrying on a combined system of operations. Smollett, an eye-witness of the conduct of these officers, makes Roderick Random compare them to Cæsar and Pompey: "The one," says he, "would not brook a superior, and the other was impatient of an equal; so that, between the pride of one, and the insolence of another, the enterprise miscarried."† A similar fault cannot be imputed to the minister with regard to the South Sea expedition. The service could not, perhaps,

* Smollett's History of England, vol. iii. p. 41.
† Roderick Random, p. 215.

have afforded an officer better fitted than Anson for the arduous duties assigned him, by the energy of his character, by his firm and even temper, and by the solidity of his judgment and professional knowledge. Yet although the selection of a commander was fortunate, there were many errors both in the dispatch and equipment of the squadron, for which the premier, or his colleagues, were highly censurable.

The first of these errors was the unjustifiable delay in the dispatch of the expedition. Anson received his commission on the 10th of January, 1740, but it was not until the 18th of the following September that he was enabled finally to take his departure. The consequences of this detention were most calamitous; the opportunity was lost for sailing at a favourable period of the year; the Spanish settlements were put on their guard, and the squadron suffered such disasters, that out of the six men-of-war and two store-ships of which it was composed, the Centurion alone returned to the British shores.

With respect to the equipment of the squadron, a heavier charge than mere procrastination lies against the ministry of the day. If ever an armament required a crew in the full vigour of mind and body, it was that which Anson commanded; yet the mode in which the ships entrusted to him were manned, is at once irreconcilable with

policy, and repugnant to humanity; and it seems almost incredible that such an outrage should have been offered to public decency and feeling, without awakening, at the same time, public inquiry and indignation.

A regiment of infantry had originally been assigned to the squadron, but it was afterwards resolved to replace them by five hundred out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, of whom, however, only 259, and those of the most feeble, were embarked. "The imagination can hardly conceive a more distressing scene than the embarkation presented. The men were conscious of their unfitness for the service; the pride of youthful confidence had long been extinguished in their bosoms; their heads were grey, their limbs injured and frail, and the only glow that they felt was that of indignation, to be sent upon a service in which, without the ability to perform their duty, or the chance of having their sufferings terminated by encountering the enemy, they saw only the prospect of uselessly perishing by lingering and painful diseases."*

The account of the departure of the squadron is from the private journal of Philip Saumarez, third lieutenant of the Centurion, who a few years afterwards was killed in Hawke's action with Letenduer, while gallantly engaged with a ship of greatly superior force.

* Campbell's Lives of British Admirals, vol. vi. p. 343.

"'On the 18th September, 1740, we made sail with his Majesty's ships—

Squadron designed for a secret expedition.

Centurion	60 guns	Commodore Anson.
Gloucester	50 do.	Captain Norris.
Severn	50 do.	Capt. the Hon. E. Legge.
Pearl	40 do.	Capt. Mitchel.
Wager		Capt. Kidd.
Tryal sloop		Capt. the Hon. J. Murray.
And two store ships.		

The St. Albans, (Captain Vincent,) and Lark, (the Right Hon. Lord Geo. Graham,) the two convoys for the Turkey and Mediterranean ships, in all, twenty seven sail."

On the 20th of September, the squadron was joined by one hundred and twenty merchant ships, and five men-of-war, under Captain Barnet; when "the Commodore, who seemed hitherto only to command as senior officer, thought fit to assume his proper rank and character, and ordered the private pendant at the mast-head to be struck, and a broad red one to be hoisted. Our squadron now amounted to one hundred and fifty-two sail. The prospect of such a number of ships lying-to to receive us, joined to the serenity of the air and smoothness of the sea, afforded a most amusing entertainment, which was much heightened by the salutes of his Majesty's ships at the Commodore's joining them."

"At one, we made sail down Channel, with a fair wind."*

Here follows a list of the line of battle, and order

* Saumarez' Journal.

of sailing. Saumarez then continues :—" In this order we proceeded as strictly as circumstances of wind and weather would permit, and the next day esteemed ourselves clear of the Channel—an event much wished for by all the merchants in general."

The wind shifting round to the W.S.W., the Commodore tacked to the southward, in expectation of more favourable weather. The reason for this hope is thus philosophically explained by the worthy lieutenant :—" Naturalists observing, from the situation of the British and French coasts, an extraordinary suction to ensue, whence the attraction of vapours, and impurer parts, whereby the tendency of the whole body of the lower air being carried in a stream parallel to the course of our Channel, produces those successive causes of east and west winds which generally preside most parts of the year."

To prevent the ships under convoy from being boarded by the enemy's privateers, the commodore " caused all ships that appeared in sight to be chased and examined, all of which proved either French or Dutch. The captain of a little French sloop, in particular, bound from Rochelle to Cork, informed us of an armament of twelve ships of war at Brest, to which he added, with a certain mercury and gaiety peculiar to that airy nation, that the monarch had equipped them to curb the insolence of the

Spaniards, who dared to attack the British ships in their very harbours."*

"On the 2nd of October, the wind resumed the southern quarter, in which it continued till the 23rd instant, seldom deviating three points either to the eastward or westward of south. This change of wind occasioned a sudden alteration in the air, which became extremely humid and suffocating, and affected our people extremely, particularly the newly-raised marines, who in most of the ships were chiefly attacked with headache, rheumatic pains, and fevers, but did not prove fatal to many, and was generally esteemed by the seamen a scouring or tribute those undergo who are not accustomed to change of climate."

"On the 27th, early in the morning, we discovered the Desertas, bearing W.N.W., nine leagues. These are three small islands, laying about ten leagues to the east of the island of Madeira, which afford a most melancholy prospect, nature having denied them that agreeable verdure and decoration so recreating to the eye, and substituted in its room a heap of barren rocks and precipices. To these disconsolate places they banish from the island of Madeira those persons who, by their crimes and immoralities, become nuisances to society."

The following day the squadron arrived at Ma-

* War with France was expected at this time.

deira, and on the 5th of November resumed its voyage.

Little of interest occurred until they approached the equinoctial line, when it appears, from the private journals kept by Keppel and Saumarez, that sickness first began to make its appearance. "We observed," writes Saumarez, "a sensible alteration in the air and sky; the former growing extremely humid, sultry, and suffocating; the latter, with dark clouds hanging impervious to the horizon, which was soon attended with a quick succession of calms and squalls, and with violent showers of rain. This early change in the air seemed to prognosticate a long series of disagreeable weather, it being unusual to meet with it so far to the northward of the equinox, more especially as the sun was far advanced to the southern tropic; but, providentially, this discord in the elements continued but four days. A brisk S.E. wind succeeding, dispersed the vapours, and restored the air to its primitive serenity and coolness, whereby we crossed the line without any further interruption."

"During this interval, our men grew distempered and sickly, a languid fever beginning to reign amongst us, partly through the density and impurity of the air, and from the continuance of the rain preventing the men from drying their clothes, which, fermented with the continual heat between decks, grew extremely offensive and nauseous to

the smell, and would soon have swarmed with vermin if they had not been obliged to hang them up in the rain to preserve them clean. This inconstancy of weather is generally experienced in crossing the equinoctial line, more especially by those who keep near the coast of Africa."

On the 19th of December, the squadron arrived off the island of St. Catherine's; the following description of which is given in Keppel's journal:—

"The island of St. Catherine's, on the coast of Brazil, is in lat. 27° 28′ S., and long. from London 47° 30′ W., making Madeira to be in 17° 30′ W., per Hudson's theory. This island is moderately high, and very woody. The main of Brazil is, however, higher, and likewise woody. The harbour is formed by the island and main of Brazil, and is very convenient for shipping, being secure from all winds. Where the squadron lay was the widest part, which I take to be about three miles over. This was formerly a place of good refreshment, but the reason we were not so well supplied as other ships have been, was in consequence of the inhabitants expecting three hundred families from Portugal to settle in the place."

"Off the point of St. Catherine's is shoal water, and as you run in with the harbour, you must keep the island of St. Antonio within half a mile, or much nearer than the point of St. Catherine's. We found the water extraordinarily good. There are

cattle, hogs, fowls, and also wild hogs, I believe, in no great scarcity. They have limes, and other West India fruits. Upon the main land and upon the island are many tigers. The harbour runs a long way to S.W., but shoal water for shipping."

Saumarez, describing the beauty of the island, says, "It abounds with many medicinal and aromatic plants, so that one might imagine oneself in a druggist's shop as you traverse the woods. The fruits are chiefly the orange, lemon, lime, citron, melon, grape, quava, wild pine apple, with many potatoes and onions. Here are great plenty of oxen, with many pheasants, though inferior in taste to ours, with abundance of monkeys and parrots, all eatable. They have a very singular bird, called the Toucan, whose plumage is red and yellow, with a long beak resembling tortoise-shell, and somewhat in shape of a feather, in lieu of a tongue."

"The air here is extremely hot and sultry, from the reflection of the hills on each side of you, which are exceedingly high, and prevent a free intercourse and circulation of the air, that till eight or nine in the morning a thick fog almost obscures the land, and continues till either the sun gathers strength to dissipate these vapours, or a brisk sea breeze disperses them. This renders the air close and humid, and occasioned many fevers and fluxes amongst us."

He also speaks of the excellence of the water, and observes, "After having had it on board some

time, it discharged itself of a green putrid scum, which subsided to the bottom, and left the remainder as clear as crystal."

Commodore Anson here landed his sick, having previously pitched two large tents for their use "on a tolerably large spot of level ground, which was clear of wood, and for that reason recommended itself as affording room for exercise; but its situation was low, and liable to be overflown whenever it rained hard, which happened more than once."*

On the 18th of January the squadron resumed its voyage.

Continuing along the coast of Patagonia, they arrived, on the 18th of February, in the roads of St. Julian. Keppel here mentions the number of seals and penguins that were to be seen on the rocks, and after making several nautical observations, says, "When you are in the harbour, it appears very pleasant, but wild, for there is not any wood, not even brush, nor was there a drop of water." This last deficiency must have been very distressing to the ships' companies, who had already been put on short allowance, with no prospect of a speedy supply. The journal goes on to observe, "The harbour led further than our boat ever went, or could see. Salt they found, but not in such plenty as Sir John Narborough mentions.

* Saumarez' Journal.

There are wild-fowl in great plenty;—such as, ducks, teal, and plover,—and such quantities of shags that we used to get on board enough for the ship's company. The men killed them with their stretchers."

The squadron weighed anchor on the 27th of February, which happened to fall on a Friday. If the sailors of Anson's squadron partook of the prevalent superstition amongst seamen, against sailing on a Friday, subsequent events must have tended strongly to confirm them in it, for all their dangers and miseries may be said to be dated from their departure on that ill-omened day.

The first disaster happened to the Gloucester, as she was getting under weigh. From a difficulty in purchasing her anchor, she was obliged to cut her cable, and leave her best bower behind; and a few days after, she was nearly blown up by the accidental explosion of some gunpowder, which had been preparing in expectation of falling in with the Spanish fleet.

On the 5th of March the squadron made the land of Terra del Fuego, a chain of stupendous rocks rising in innumerable rugged points, and covered with perpetual snow.

The seventh of March was long remembered as the last cheerful day that the greater part of the expedition ever lived to enjoy. The sky was serene; the morning, although winter was approach-

ing, was brilliant and mild, when the squadron entered the straits of La Maire, and was hurried by the rapidity of the current in about two hours to their southern extremity. The speed of their course, and the beauty of the weather, inspired all on board with the belief that their difficulties were nearly at an end, and that their dreams of "Chilian gold and Peruvian silver" were presently to be realized; "ignorant of the calamities that would so soon dispel these illusions, of the disastrous evening that would close upon that genial and hopeful day."* For scarcely had they reached the southern outlet of the straits, when the sky lowered, the wind shifted to the southward, and blew in violent squalls, the tide at the same time turned furiously against them, and by the next morning the storm and current had driven them seven leagues to the eastward of the straits.

From this day forward, they had "a continual succession of such tempestuous weather, as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short, and at the same time such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe."†

* Anson's Voyage, vol. i. p. 115. † Ibid. p. 117.

The ship kept continually rolling gunwale-to, and with such violence that some men were killed, and others greatly injured. What rendered these tempests still more dreadful was their inequality. At one moment the ship would be lying-to under bare poles; at another, the appearance of the weather would justify their setting topsails; when the wind, without any previous notice, would return with redoubled force, and tear the sails from the yards. To increase their distress, the blasts were accompanied with sleet and snow, which rendered the cordage so brittle that it snapped with the slightest pull, and the fingers and toes of many of the men became frost-bitten. At the same time, the Centurion had become so loose in her upper works that she let in water in every seam, and "scarcely any of the officers lay in dry beds."*

After being nearly forty days in this situation, they had hoped that their fatigues were drawing to a close; but they discovered, to their bitter disappointment, that they had advanced no further than the southern outlets of the Straits of Magellan, when they expected they were at least ten degrees to the westward.

At this time a new source of misery opened upon them: the scurvy made dreadful havoc among the crew. In Keppel's log, between the 2nd of May

* Anson's Voyage, vol. i. p. 119.

and the 9th of June, there are only seven days in which a death is not recorded, and on several occasions as many as eight men are stated to have died in the course of the twenty-four hours. On the 16th of June, the day after their arrival at Juan Fernandez, Keppel's journal says, "We have lost upwares of 228 men since we left England. The reason I mention it here is, that I have omitted to insert in my log the deaths of several men." Between the 10th of June and the 2nd of July, he mentions the death of forty-five more men.

There was little or no amendment in the weather during April, but "in the succeeding month of May," says Mr. Walter, "our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had yet done." Instead of giving Mr. Walter's more detailed account, a few extracts are inserted from Keppel's and Saumarez' journals, which will shew the nature of their distresses.

May 16.—"The main-top-sail blew clean out of the bolt-rope; the ship heeled to it prodigiously; Martin Enough, a brisk seaman, in going up the main-shrouds, fell overboard, and was lost—much wanted, and regretted."

May 17.—"Sent a main-top-sail up into the top, but our men were so sickly and few, that we were unable to bend him."

"These twenty-four hours a continuance of stormy, surprising weather, the elements seeming

all confused; in the height of the squalls had several violent claps of thunder, before the explosion of which, a quick, subtle fire, ran along our decks, which, bursting, made a report like a pistol, and struck several of our men and officers, who with the violence of the blow were black and blue in several places; this fire was attended with a strong sulphureous smell."

On its clearing up, they discovered the island of Guaffo close under their lee; the gale continuing, and a high sea running, filled them with consternation. Providentially, however, just as the night set in, they were "taken aback with a squall from the S. S. W." "The ship," says Saumarez, "refusing to wear, and our people not strong enough to haul the sail up, we lowered the main-yard. At seven, A.M., the wind abating, encouraged our hands to bend the main-top-sail, and set him close reeft, which with difficulty was performed, we being able to muster but twenty-seven men, and our people being dispirited and fatigued beyond what can be imagined."

May 19.—"Upwards of one hundred and sixty men incapable of duty, and about one hundred and seventy dead; all the rest of our men are very weak, and falling down fast."

May 23.—"Split the fore-top-sail to pieces shipped a very dangerous sea on the weather quarter, which gave us a prodigious shock; found

three main-shrouds broke on the starboard side, and two on the larboard, and three of the laniards of the fore-shrouds gone; employed in securing the mainmast and foremast; set main-sail and main-top-sail, there being a very high sea; we found that the ship heeled two or three streaks to port, which is to windward, occasioned by the sea we shipped having shifted something in the hold."

After this, all hands capable of work, including the Commodore himself, were employed in repairing the damage sustained, no one being left to attend the helm but the master and chaplain.

On the 29th of May the weather became more moderate, and the Centurion having arrived in the latitude of Juan Fernandez, all on board were anxiously looking out for the island. "Our people," says Saumarez, "were now grown to the last degree infirm and sick; and the few that were able to do their duty falling down hourly.

"A. M., seeing no land, we began to give it up, and concluded we had not sufficient westing, but were now to the eastward of it. As the thing was uncertain, we continued our course to the eastward, knowing that we must either fall in with it soon, or make the continent, from which we could take a fresh departure, and clear up all our doubts."

By the 3rd of June they were unable to tack the ship, in consequence of the disabled state of the

crew, "not mustering above ten seamen in a watch, and several of them lame, and unable to go aloft; so that their chief strength depended on the officers, who formed an after-guard with the servants and boys."*

On the 9th of June they enjoyed the welcome sight of Juan Fernandez. Saumarez, who had this night charge of the middle watch, says, that having occasion to wear ship, in endeavouring to get up to the anchoring place, "I could muster no more than six seamen, besides two quarter-masters, in the watch, our assistance being from the officers and servants, and I was two hours in wearing."

We can imagine the pleasure with which Keppel made the following entry in his journal; bearing in mind that for five months he had been living on salt provisions, and a short allowance of water.

June 10.—"Saw a very fine cascade of water; caught many cod and other fish; saw numbers of goats on the tops of the hills, and some dogs."

The inefficient state of the crew may be further gathered from the next entry.

June 11.—"At eight, brought the messenger to the capstan, and began to heave; at nine, hove the anchor aweigh, but were unable to heave in the cable,—so made sail, and dragged the anchor."†

The next day, "the Tryal sloop anchored, having

* Saumarez' Journal. † Keppel's Journal.

buried upwards of fifty men, and not having above two foremast-men able to work."*

Saumarez remarks, that "the men now die apace," and that it was "impossible to conceive the stench and filthiness the men lay in, or the condition the ship was in between decks."

Anson's first object was to land the sick, many of whom died in the mere act of removing, while others were so worn out as to be past recovery, and daily died."†

On the 26th of June the Gloucester hove in sight; but, from the variableness of the wind, and the deplorable condition of her crew, it was not till the 23rd of July that she could anchor, and then only with the assistance of the Centurion's men.

From the report which Captain Mitchel, of the Gloucester, made of the Masafuero Fernandez, Anson determined to send the Tryal on a cruise to that island; and on the 4th of August ordered Keppel to join her. The anchor was no sooner weighed than it fell calm, and a heavy swell drifted the sloop close to some rocks, over which a heavy surf was breaking. By timely assistance, however, from the Centurion and Gloucester, she was saved from being dashed to pieces.

The Tryal arrived at Masafuero Fernandez on

* Keppel's Journal. † Saumarez' Journal.

the 14th instant. Keppel, who landed on the island, describes it as having but an indifferent landing-place, and observes, that "there are a number of trees, a great deal of grass, and fine fresh water running down the valleys." "We saw," he says, "several herds of goats feeding on the plains, but had not time to try at them; we also saw several of them by the sides of the precipices, feeding, but brought none off, though they seemed to be pretty tame. There were an innumerable number of hawks, quite tame, and a vast quantity of fish and seals, with some sea lions."

On the 22nd of August the Tryal returned to Juan Fernandez, and Keppel rejoined the Centurion.

On the 8th of September a sail was seen in the offing, upon which the Centurion put to sea. The next day, having lost sight of the chase, "we hauled up," says Keppel, "in order to return and hasten the sailing of the squadron, when shortly afterwards we saw a large sail on the weather bow coming towards us: we made sail, and gave chase; down cabins, cleared ship, and slung our yards. At about seven miles' distance the chase hauled upon a wind, fired a gun, and shewed Spanish colours; fired four shot at her, upon which she bore down to us. At half-past two, the cutter returned with the captain, whose name was Don Manuel de Zamoarh,—his ship's name, the Neustra

Senora del Monte Carmelo; she had on board thirteen passengers, fifty-four whites and blacks,—in all, sixty-seven people. The Captain told the Commodore that they had sailed twenty-seven days ago from Calao for Valparaiso; the news at Calao was, that Admiral Pizarro, who was designed for these seas, had put back, and was, with his own ship and two more, at Buenos Ayres, and that two more had not been heard of. The Captain likewise told us, that my Lord Cathcart's expedition had failed in the attack at Carthagena; and that there had been four or five Spanish men-of-war cruising off Juan Fernandez, the last of which left on the 5th of June."*

Saumarez, in his journal, has given a detailed account of the capture of this prize, which Mr. Walter appears to have copied nearly verbatim in his "Anson's Voyage."

The value of the prize, Saumarez says, "we computed, amounted, besides her cargo, to about 17,867*l.* 11*s.* sterling, which might be worth as much more if brought to a proper market."

Sept. 14th.—"Came to an anchor in Juan Fernandez' bay. Received from the prize some money, plate, and lace."†

Sept. 19th.—"Weighed, and sailed from Juan Fernandez, with our prize, towards the coast of Chili, in search of the Spanish galleons."‡

* Keppel's Journal. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

Keppel, in his account of Juan Fernandez—the spot on which De Foe places Robinson Crusoe—says, "This island is very useful to strangers for refreshments. It affords all sorts of fish, likewise greens, as turnips and water-cresses, &c. Here are goats, but so shied by the dogs that it is difficult to get at them, though our people generally shot one every day. Upon the beach are great numbers of seals and sea lions. The latter are bigger round than a leager;* the blubber of one of them affords about a puncheon of oil. The male of this animal is very quiet, if not disturbed, and generally found asleep near the females, which are much fiercer creatures. Our people eat the young ones; they are very good, and not at all rank. A sea lioness flew at one of our men, who was killing a young one, and bit his skull, of which he died."

"At this island we remained three months, which is what I imagine no ship will do again, if the Spaniards have any vessels to look out."

From this time (September) to the middle of November, the Commodore was cruising along the coast of Chili, in search of prizes.

On the 6th of November, Keppel gives an account of the capture of a prize, the Nuestra Senora Teresa de Jesus, a ship of about 400 tons. On the 12th, they saw another sail, and the Commodore ordered his barge and pinnace, with the Tryal's pinnace, to be manned and armed, and to

* A large cask.

pursue her. Keppel was one of the boarding party in the barge, under the command of his friend Brett, who was the first to come up with the chase. They reached her at nine o'clock, and Mr. Brett running alongside, fired a volley of small shot over the heads of the Spaniards, "when," says Keppel, "we boarded her, and took her, and then bore down, and left one of our mates on board her, with seven men. Her name, the Carmensete, Captain Don Marquis (Marcos) Morena, from Payta, bound to Calao—a ship between 300 and 400 tons, loaded with bale goods, timber, and iron."

Amongst the persons on board this vessel was an Irish pedlar, of the name of Williams, who had travelled all over Mexico with his small wares. He had lately, for some misdemeanour, been thrown into prison at Payta. From him the Commodore learned that the Spanish governor of Payta, apprehensive of being attacked by the English, had been removing the royal treasure and his own effects to Piura, an inland town, fourteen miles distant. Williams further stated that there was a considerable sum of money belonging to some Lima merchants lodged in the custom-house at Payta.

Upon this intelligence, the Commodore immediately determined to attack this place. Accordingly, at ten o'clock at night, the Centurion, being about twelve leagues from the shore, brought to, and "the Commodore ordered the boats under the

command of Lieut. Brett to go in shore, manned and armed as follows: — In the barge, Lieut. Brett, Lieut. Bruce, of the marines, five midshipmen, (one of whom was Keppel,) and twenty-three men. Mr. Denis went in our pinnace, with two midshipmen and ten men; and Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the Tryal sloop's prize, in their pinnace, with twelve men. The whole number, fifty-eight people, besides two Spanish pilots,"* who were promised a reward, or death, according as they should conduct themselves.

The party were not discovered until they entered the mouth of the bay, when some people belonging to the ships at anchor gave the alarm. Presently the sailors could perceive a stir in the fort, and shortly afterwards a shot whistled over their heads. Upon this, Mr. Brett ordered his men to pull briskly in for the shore; and at half-past two in the morning, just as the fort was firing a second shot, they landed at the west end of the town.

Mr. Brett speedily got his men under the shelter of a narrow street, and with drums beating and loud cheering, marched directly for the governor's house. Here they were received by a volley of small arms, fired by some merchants, who had ranged themselves on the verandah, but fled immediately upon their approach.

* Keppel's Journal.

The first endeavour of the besiegers was to seize the governor, but he, who happened to have been married only a few days, jumped out of bed, and made his escape to the hill adjoining the town, leaving his bride, a young lady of seventeen, to manage as she best could, "although she too was afterwards carried off in her shift by a couple of sentinels."*

Leaving a detachment to surround the house of the governor, "we marched," says Keppel, "to the fort, which we took, with the loss of one man, called Peter Bryan, one seaman wounded, and the Spanish pilot of the Teresa." Mr. Walter relates, that "another of the company, the Hon. Mr. Keppel, son to the Earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow escape; for, having on a jockey cap, one side of the peak was shaved off close to his temple by a ball, which, however, did him no other injury;"†—an incident which the subject of it has, with becoming modesty, suppressed in his journal.

Mr. Brett having first guarded the principal avenues of the town, proceeded to the custom-house, where the treasure lay, and employed his people in transporting it to the fort; "but the sailors," who seem to have been a century ago the same creatures of impulse that they are now, "while thus em-

* Anson's Voyage, p. 163. † Ibid., p. 162.

ployed, could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay near them, in search of pillage, where the first things that occurred to them, being the clothes that the Spaniards had in their flight left behind them, and which, according to the custom of the country, were most of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly seized their glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trousers and jackets, not forgetting, at the same time, the tie or bag-wig and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it; but those who came latest into the fashion were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no scruple of putting on, and blending with their own greasy dress."*

"The inhabitants," who seemed to have followed the prudent example of their governor, "all abandoned the town. We saw numbers of them on the tops of the hills, but could not get them down to capitulate with us."†

"At ten, Mr. Denis, in the Tryal's prize's pinnace, went off loaded with money. At noon we came on board with silver and plate."‡

The two next days were spent in plundering the

* Anson's Voyage, p. 163. † Keppel's Journal. ‡ Ibid.

town. The Commodore, being unable to come to terms with the governor, resolved to burn Payta. Keppel was one of those appointed for this duty. "At eleven, P.M.," he says, "Lieut. Brett gave us orders to prepare for firing the town. Saw numbers of horse (about two hundred, according to Mr. Walter) on the tops of the hills, beating their drums; we expected they would come down, but as they declined doing so, at twelve we set one end of the town on fire, and went out to the convent, where we had put the prisoners till we should embark."

"At one, P.M.,* we set the town entirely in flames, and began to embark. When the horsemen on the hills saw us embarking, they made down towards us with haste, upon which we went on shore again, and drew up our people to see whether they intended to come down to us; but this was not their intention, for they returned up the hill. We then went off on board the vessels and galleys, and scuttled them, cutting their cables, that they might not sink in the road, excepting a small ship, which had some wine on board. The town of Payta was a considerable loss to the Spaniards, though we did not profit so much by it, they having several

* In the journal, the date, "Nov. 16th," precedes the words, "At one, P.M.," the nautical day beginning at meridian, instead of midnight; but the date is suppressed here, and in other parts of the work, as tending to confuse the unprofessional reader.

warehouses full of European goods, which we set on fire, with other valuable things, which we had not time to take on board. The money we took might be nigh 30,000*l.* sterling, not more." Keppel's own share amounted to 504 dollars, somewhat more than 100*l.* Saumarez estimated the plunder at "30,236*l.* 8*s.* sterling, in gold, dollars, and wrought plate, besides several gold bracelets, and rings set with jewels, whose intrinsic value they could not determine."

At eleven o'clock at night they got under weigh, "leaving the town of Payta smoking over the hills," * and on the 7th of December anchored off the island of Quibo.

* Keppel's Journal.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

Keppel's account of the island of Quibo—His adventure with some Spaniards—The squadron leaves Chequetan—Unhealthy state of the squadron—The Centurion becomes leaky—Anson sets fire to the Gloucester—The Centurion arrives at Tinian—Parts from both her anchors—Sails from Tinian—The dishonesty of the Chinese—Engagement with, and capture of, a Spanish galleon—Keppel's conduct in the action—Is promoted for his gallantry—Accompanies the Commodore to Canton—The interview with the Viceroy—Keppel's remarks on the galleons—The Centurion returns to England.

1741 TO 1743.

"THIS bay," says Keppel, "is a very deep one, and commodious for watering a fleet of ships; our boat brought us on board, a deer, some monkeys, mackaws, parrots, doves, and turtles: the island is full of these animals, but it being so very woody, our people did not attempt going up into the country. There are many different sorts of beasts and birds besides; here are many lagoons, with abundance of fish in them, and some alligators: the Commodore found a pearl fishery."

They remained but four days at Quibo, when they resumed their cruise in search of the Manilla galleon.

In the month of January, Keppel remarks, "Our people catch numbers of bonetas every day;" and shortly afterwards, "caught upwards of 100 turtle, —some days we catch more, but generally twenty a-day, likewise many bonetas and dolphins." In another part of his journal, he says,—"We victualled our ship's company with turtle for the most part of the time that we cruised off the coast of Mexico; sometimes we caught sixty or seventy of a day, by swimmers, who jumped out of the boat upon them before they let the air out of them, for 'till they let the air out they can't go down deep. We have likewise caught numbers of fish called bonetas and albicores; some of the albicores weighed from 200 pounds and more, down to eight pounds—they are very fine eating. The turtle in this part are not like the green turtle in the West Indies, neither are they loggerheads nor hawks-bill turtle; they are not so good as green turtle, but better than the other turtle."

On the 7th of February, Keppel was sent with Lieutenants Denis and Scott, in the barge, to ascertain whether the Manilla ship had arrived at Acapulco. After an absence of four days they returned on board, without having discovered the port of Acapulco, in consequence of the ignorance of the Spanish pilot, and of their not having a sufficiency of water and provisions to prolong the cruise.*

* Keppel's Journal.

On the 13th, the same party again left the Centurion.*

Feb. 20.—"At one," says Keppel, "we returned on board, and gave an account of our having seen the port of Acapulco, where we took a canoe with three negroes, who informed us that the Manilla ship arrived at the beginning of January, and was to sail the 4th of March." They turned the canoe adrift against the face of the rock, where it would inevitably be dashed to pieces, so as to induce those on shore to believe the crew was wrecked; the boat, however, had been seen by the inhabitants, and the sailing of the galleon was in consequence postponed for another year.

On the 7th of April the Centurion anchored in Chequetan harbour. The next morning, Keppel formed one of a party of forty men, under the command of Lieutenant Denis, who were sent on shore, in order, if possible, to discover a town, which the Commodore "intended to take possession of, in hopes of getting refreshments, as likewise to propose amicable terms to the Indians."† "In the afternoon," Keppel says, "we got in from our march, having been about ten miles up the country in a fair beaten road. In the way out we saw a sentry on horseback, who rode off from us. The

* Keppel's Journal contains a minute description of the bearings of that part of the Mexican coast which they saw in their passage.

† Saumarez' Journal.

country was pleasant, but the day being so violently hot we could not go on." Walter describes their fatigue to have been excessive: "Some of them were so far spent that they had fainted on the road, and were obliged to be brought back upon the shoulders of their companions.*

A short time after this expedition, another was undertaken, which Keppel also accompanied; this was to examine the bay and watering-place at Sequataneio.

April 20.—"At eight, P.M., got on board the Centurion in the pinnace and Gloucester's cutter, and gave an account of Sequataneio, the port of which is a very bad one, being an open bay; it lies close to the hill of Peteplan, off which are rocks called the Friars, white with birds' dung. About a mile from the hill of the Peteplan, on the lowland, or neck, is a lagoon of small breadth, with a bar off it, so that a boat cannot go in. On this neck of land, within the lagoon, we saw a large smoke, where I don't doubt there's a town."†

In the following mention of an encounter with 200 Spaniards, it should be borne in mind that the English were only sixteen in number.

"As we were going to land, we saw a great number of horsemen riding towards us along the beach. Mr. Brett seeing them, stood across the

* Anson's Voyage, ch. xi. p. 211. † Keppel's Journal.

bay towards them, and came with the boats within musket-shot, in the surf. We fired at a party, consisting of forty-two men, which retreated into the woods, as did the two other parties before they came near us."*

"The ships in these seas are easily distinguished from those of Europe, being remarkable from having their jibs very small; generally they have neither jib nor stay-sail. By their own (the natives') account, they knew us to be Europeans by our jib, stay-sails, and steering-sails, the latter of which they seldom or never set. Their sails are cotton, and very white, though not whiter than old canvas ones; their masts are long, and yards square; they have not more than two reefs to their top-sails; their ships appear very large, from their high sterns; all of them have high galleries, painted white, but no ornaments; they sail much better than any trading ships in Europe, and are well fitted. The Indians make exceeding good seamen, as we found them."†

On the 30th of April, the Centurion, in company with the Gloucester, quitted Chequetan, and proceeded off Acapulco, in hopes of hearing of their cutter, which, with Lieut. Hughes and five men, had been stationed off that island, and had been long missing.

* Keppel's Journal. † Ibid.

On the 16th of May, the following entry is made in Saumarez' journal:—"At noon our cutter arrived on board; they had cruised the appointed time on their station, and were plying to the westward to join us, but a strong eastern current setting them away, prolonged their absence till their water was all expended, which obliged them to bear away to the eastward in quest of more. They coasted, along shore, near eighty leagues, without any possibility of landing, a large surf everywhere preventing them. At last, a very heavy tornado, in which much rain fell, relieved them, and filled all their casks. They had been several days before without water, and had had recourse to turtle's blood, which they drank in lieu. They then returned to the westward, and, being favoured with a strong western current, in fifty hours joined us, having been absent forty-three days."

For a short time all went on prosperously; but in June, scurvy again began to make havoc among the crew. On the 4th of July, Keppel says, "Our people fall down fast with the scurvy." Added to the horrors of this terrible malady, was a fresh source of uneasiness from a leaky ship, which harassed and fatigued the crew to such an extent, that we cannot wonder at constantly meeting in the journal with entries similar to the following:—"Our people jaded"—"Our men falling down daily, and much discouraged"—"Our people dis-

pirited to the last degree." This attack of scurvy appeared at first chiefly confined to the Indians. Saumarez remarks, on the 1st of July, "This distemper makes great havoc, amongst the Indians and blacks particularly, who are very dispirited and inactive; and has likewise attacked several of our own men, who are now on the decline, being troubled with asthma, pains in the breast and stomach, hamstrung, stiffness in all their limbs, pains in their joints, and blotches and ulcers over most part of their legs, feet, and hands."

On the 9th of July, the English sailors began to die, and "all were more or less affected: each day now rapidly diminished their number."*

On the 12th of August, a violent gale occasioned the greatest distress; for the people were so worn out that they "could scarce tend the pumps, which grew very urgent:" the next day the Gloucester was discovered to windward with her fore-topmast gone, and a signal of distress flying. "A very disagreeable sight," says Saumarez, "to all our people, who grew mightily discouraged." Coming within hail, "Captain Mitchel acquainted the Commodore that his ship had sprung a-leak, and had then seven feet water in her hold; his men, as well as officers, being all fatigued with incessant pumping, were no longer able to hold out, having had nine and a half feet water in her;

* Saumarez' Journa.

all their full water-casks were entirely covered, so that the people had no water to drink; the ship rolled and laboured extremely, and was under no command of the helm."

"At three o'clock, it moderating, the Commodore sent Mr. Hughes and the carpenter, in the cutter, on board the Gloucester. At five o'clock they returned on board, and represented that the Gloucester's people were no longer able to stand out, and delivered a letter to the Commodore from Captain Mitchell and all his officers, complaining of the defects of the ship."* The Commodore sent them word that he would remove them next day; intending, at the same time, to take out what stores our ship was most in want of, it being impracticable for us to give them any assistance to preserve their ship, without an apparent danger of losing both by dividing our strength."†

The two following days were busily employed in removing the sick from the Gloucester.

Aug. 16.—"At six, P.M., having got out as much as our strength and time would permit us, the Commodore gave orders to set her on fire, to prevent any possibility of her falling into the enemy's hands, as we were very uncertain what distance we might be from the land. At seven, she was accordingly fired, having then seven and a half feet of water in her hold. We were not more

*Keppel's Journal. † Saumarez' Journal.

than a mile and a half from her, and it falling little wind, we were obliged to crowd what sail we could, to get a convenient distance from her before she blew up. Soon after, our people who had been employed in firing her returned on board. The confusion of four or five boats towing alongside in a great swell in the night time, their crews most of them drunk with the liquor they had rummaged on board the Gloucester; the apprehension of a squall which threatened to take us aback; the hurry of hauling down our sails, which the weakness of our people rendered slow and dangerous; all this joined to the incumbrances we had on the deck, of sick and dying men, which our hurry and shortness of time had not permitted us to take care of; the chests, casks, and lumber, received from the other ships, which filled up the decks and entangled all our running ropes; all these different accidents, still aggravated with the last ship of our squadron blazing within two miles of us, combined to make as melancholy a scene as I ever observed since I have been in the navy."*

"The remainder of the night proving tolerably moderate, we saved all our boats, with the exception of the Gloucester's barge, which broke adrift, and sunk soon after, being deeply laden, and our people too much fatigued to hoist her in. At six in the morning, the Gloucester blew up: she had

* Saumarez' Journal.

burnt all night very fiercely; her guns having continued firing most part of it, according to the progress the flames made towards them."*

After burying a considerable number of its crew, the Centurion made, on the 28th of August, the island of Tinian;—an event which "seemed," says Saumarez, "as the direction of a peculiar Providence, it being impossible that the ship could have continued many days more at sea, there being few people of sufficient strength or number to navigate her and keep her above water, (our pumps fatiguing us all to death,) and even those, officers and all, on the decline, and almost exhausted." Here she anchored at eight in the evening; but, although it was almost calm, the men were nearly five hours in furling the sails.

The next day the sick, amounting to one hundred and twenty-eight, were landed. "Numbers of those," says Walter, "were so very helpless that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hospital upon our shoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandez) the Commodore himself, and every one of his officers, were engaged without distinction."†

After much difficulty and many failures, a successful attempt was made in partially stopping the leak, which was occasioned by a defect in the stern.

The sick were rapidly recovering, and the ship

* Saumarez' Journal. † Anson's Voyage, chap. ii. p. 243.

was getting into order, when an accident happened which threatened the destruction of the whole crew. A violent storm arose on the 22nd of September, in which the Centurion parted from both her anchors.* The sheet anchor was immediately cut from the bow, but they had drifted into deep water, and had little hope of its holding. The night set in excessively dark, and at one o'clock a tremendous squall, attended with rain and lightning, drove the ship to sea. "The Commodore, by this accident," says Saumarez, "with 113 of the men, who were ashore for the recovery of their health, being left behind. I had on board our second-lieutenant, the first-lieutenant of the Gloucester, the lieutenant of the Tryal, 90 men and boys, and 14 negroes and Indians—in all, 108 persons." Keppel formed one of the number. "Our condition," says Walter, "was truly deplorable. We were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawsers, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrouds were loose, and our

* "A whaler (says the *Times*, August 24, 1829) lately, in weighing anchor at the island of Tinian, hooked up the anchor of the Centurion, of 64 guns, which was left by that ship in the year 1742, when Commodore Lord Anson touched there to refresh his crew. It was, comparatively, but little corroded, having on it a thick coat of rust; the wooden stock was completely rotted off. The anchor was carried over to the island of Guam, where the natives immediately commenced beating it out into bars and bolts, with which they are now building a brig."

topmasts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and mainyards close down, before the hurricane came on, so that there were no sails we could set, except the mizen."* During the whole night the crew were in hourly expectation of being dashed to pieces upon the island of Aguigan; nor were they able to make even an attempt to avoid the threatened danger, "it blowing so hard as rendered it impracticable to carry any sail, none of the masts being sufficiently secured, and the pumps requiring continual attendance;"† but what was not in the power of man was accomplished by the providential setting of a northerly current, which, in the course of the night, carried them clear of the island.

The sheet-anchor, with two cables an end, still hung from the bows, and as it was their last anchor, they could not afford to cut it away. On the 26th, Keppel says, "Hove the sheet-anchor in sight, but having no geer trustworthy, and our people much fatigued, deferred securing him till morning." On this, as well as on every other occasion, "no rank of office exempted any person from the manual application and bodily labour of a common sailor."‡

For some days they remained in great distress; but on the 10th of October arrived off Tinian. The next day, Keppel inserts in his journal:—"At eight, Lieut. Denis came on board in the cutter that

* Anson's Voyage, b. iii. chap. 4. † Saumarez' Journal.
‡ Anson's Voyage, chap. iv. p. 295.

we left behind. They told us they had sawed the bark athwart, in order to lengthen her, to carry them off the island. They had given the ship over some days since."

The following day they anchored, and the Commodore came on board. The utmost dispatch was now used in watering the ship. On the 13th she was again driven to sea, but fortunately this time most of the officers and men were on board. On the 22nd of October, they finally took leave of Tinian, apparently much to Keppel's satisfaction, who remarks, "I don't doubt but that it has been bad weather at Tinian this night"—a feeling not confined to Keppel. "We made sail," says Saumarez, "glad at leaving a place where we were exposed to great accidents from the badness of the road."

On the 5th of November, the ship made the coast of China, and on the 11th, anchored in Macao road, "but much further off than was necessary, through the timorousness of the China pilot."* To obviate this inconvenience, they engaged a Portuguese pilot, under whose guidance they "now found themselves fast in the mud."† In the afternoon, however, the ship was hove off, and moored in the Typa harbour.

Keppel remarks that they were here well supplied with all sorts of provisions, which were sold

* Saumarez' Journal. † Ibid.

tolerably cheap, "though," he adds, "the Chinese are great villains." Their subsequent proceedings were not likely to induce him to alter his opinion; thus we find, shortly afterwards, in his journal—"We were obliged to have the hogs brought on board alive, to prevent the Chinese defrauding us, having observed that they injected water into them to render them weightier; besides which, it rendered the meat unfit for salting."

The want of veracity on the part of the Chinese at times occasioned them much trouble and uneasiness. On the 7th of March, the Commodore received information of a vessel having been seen in the offing, and in consequence he dispatched the barge and cutter, under Keppel, to cruise among the Ladrone islands. While they were absent, further intelligence was given by a Chinese fisherman, that "he had been on board a large Spanish ship lying off the Ladrone islands, with two smaller vessels in company, and had landed one of the officers on shore at Macao, from whence, early in the morning, boats had gone off to them;" at the same time desiring no money if what he alleged was false. "This gave us," says Saumarez, "apprehensions that it was an armament from Manilla against us; on which the pinnace was sent out to give our two boats advice of it, in order to look out strictly, and we on board saw our guns, small arms, and all things, in a posture of defence."

On March 19th, Keppel says, "Returned on

board without having seen any vessel, though the Chinese told us of three which we went to look for, and found it was a false story, which the Chinese are very guilty of telling."

The Centurion was here hove down, and underwent a thorough repair, her sides being caulked with bamboo beat into oakum, and paid with a mixture of chunam beat up with Leppo oil, and whitened with lime till it resembled mortar, which they clap on with their hands.*

Previous to their quitting China, Captain Saunders was sent to England with the Commodore's despatches.

The following "Remarks" are from Keppel's journal:—

"Commodore Anson found a great deal of trouble in obtaining a grand chop for refitting the ship in the Typa, which I take to be in consequence of the ship's being so far from Canton; besides not having had a man-of-war here before; I would therefore advise any man-of-war that should come to this province, to go through the Bocca Tygris directly; but if the pilot knows you are a man-of-war, he will not take you up. The Typa is a free place, without a fortification. This might have been one reason of the Commodore not obtaining his chop so soon. Another thing; in all your de-

* Saumarez' and Keppel's Journals.

mands be particular in the most minute article, otherwise, if you are in want of more things, they will refer you to your previous demand. The Commodore was as particular as it was possible to be, but wanting other necessaries, he found great difficulty in getting them.

" We were fitted by the Chinese, and very well, though we employed our own carpenters in looking over them, otherwise their work would not have been so good; our seams and bottom were paid with Leppo, which turns as hard as a rock; it is a good thing for the bottom, though not for the upper works; the white cord I cannot commend; otherwise we are very well fitted."

On the 6th of April the Commodore sailed out of the Typa river; in three days he reached the roads of Macao, and on the 19th stood out to sea.

His professed object was to sail for Batavia, and thence to England, but his real intention was to return to the Pacific, and cruise off Cape Espiritu Santo for the Spanish galleons, which, from the time of leaving Juan Fernandez, he had been in almost daily expectation of falling in with. " As from this time," says Mr. Walter, " there was but small employment for the crew, the Commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the working of the great guns and small arms. This had been his practice more or less at every convenient season during the voyage, and the

advantages he derived from it in his engagement with the galleon, were an ample recompence for all his care and attention."*

The attention which the Commodore paid to this important part of an officer's duty is here mentioned, because it will appear in the following pages that Keppel did not, in after life, forget the lesson he learnt in Anson's school, but that in the several actions in which he bore a part, the well-directed fire of his ship always attracted peculiar notice.

On the 19th of June, "all hands began to look very melancholy, and totally despaired of meeting with the galleons, it being seldom known that they arrive so late."†

The next day, however, their eyes were gladdened by the object of two years anxious expectation. "At five, A.M.," says Keppel, "saw a sail bearing S. E.; gave chase, and cleared ship." "We naturally," says Saumarez, "concluded it must be one of the galleons, and made no doubt of seeing the other soon. At half-past seven, we discerned the ship off the deck; at eleven, had her hull entirely out of the horizon. Not seeing any other ship, we began to think she had lost company by some accident, and were surprised to see

* Anson's Voyage, ch. vii. p. 290. † Saumarez' Journal.

her bear down to us so boldly; at half-past eleven she hauled her foresail up, brought to, and hoisted Spanish colours, and their standard at the main-top-gallant mast head; about half-past noon we hoisted our colours, and the broad pendant at the mast-head, and fired such of the chase and bow guns from alow and aloft as could be brought to bear; as we were then within half gun-shot, most of them did execution; the galleon immediately returned our fire with two of his stern chasers, which he plied briskly; his shot were not ill-directed, and generally shattered our rigging; when we came abreast of the enemy, within pistol-shot, the engagement began on both sides with great briskness, our guns during the whole time being loaded with ball and grape-shot, made great havoc, as likewise our tops, which were full of the best marksmen, who, by the enemy's own confession, galled them extremely; our first broadside had a good effect, both with his men and rigging; his ensign staff, among other things, was shot away, and the ensign set on fire, but was soon extinguished by them.* The enemy on his side kept plying us with his guns, and Pedros (piedraroes), the latter being loaded with bags of stones, iron nails, and musket balls quartered; as for the mus-

* This flag was afterwards preserved at Shugborough, the seat of the Earl of Lichfield.

keteers, after the first discharge, they were observed seldom to appear, our grape scouring their decks very successfully. After near an hour's space, we observed their fire to abate considerably, and being within three boats' length of each other, could observe their officers running about confusedly, as if they were preventing a desertion of their men from their quarters, which accordingly proved so. Although our guns began to heat considerably, recoiling with such force as broke most of their breachings, we continued firing. After nearly two hours' engagement from our first gun, the enemy struck his standard, and soon after his jack, and within a few minutes fell on board us on the starboard quarter, but bearing him clear, he fell astern; we hoisted out the cutter, and the Commodore sent me on board to take possession of the prize, and send him the principal officers.

"At my arrival on board, I found the Spaniards in that state of mind the conquered may generally be supposed to be, doubtful of the treatment they were to receive, and at the same time impressed with no great opinion of our humanity from the different persuasions in religion; they having represented us to themselves as a set of cannibals, which conviction their priests take care to inculcate, especially with the Indians; but having complimented them on their behaviour and resolute resistance, I assured them of such quarter and usage as their bravery de-

served, and sent them on board the Commodore as fast as I could, the weather looking very windy, and having but ten persons on board a ship that appeared crowded with men. By eight in the evening I had sent away 300 prisoners, and was reinforced from the Commodore with forty men and officers, so that in all we mustered up fifty.

"Their decks afforded such a scene as may be supposed after a sharp dispute, being promiscuously covered with carcases, entrails, and dismembered limbs. The main hatchway contained likewise several of their dead, which had been thrown down during the action, though I learnt afterwards they had been industriously employed in throwing their slain overboard since their first striking their colours to my coming.

"This ship was called Neustra Señora de Cava Donga,* a Spanish galleon, commanded by Don Geronimo de Montero, a native of Portugal. She had been twelve days from the island of Guam, where she watered and refreshed, and seventy-two from Acapulco, at which place she had sold her cargo from Manilla for about a million and a half of dollars. She had besides on board a considerable sum of money belonging to different individuals.

* Cavadonga is the cave in Asturias where Pelayo sought shelter with his Goths, (Mariana, Hist. Hisp., lib. vii. c. 2,) and a church has been built there by Charles the Third (Minano, sub voce.)—Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. iii. p. 82.

"Thus ended an engagement which, if the number of our guns and their weight of metal be impartially considered, it must be confessed we engaged the enemy with great advantages on our side; though, on the other hand, it may be objected that they were far superior to us in number, having 550 men, all well armed, either with Pedros muskets or half-pikes, being likewise well provided with close quarters, having a strong net-work of two-inch rope, which laced over their waste, and under which they fought their guns, their half-pikes being chiefly designed to defend it, and thrust through it; they had, besides, a company of soldiers, whereas we mustered but 227, 27 of which were small boys."

In this action, Keppel's station was on the main deck, the scene generally of the greatest carnage. His more immediate duty was that of aid-de-camp to the Commodore. It is mentioned, in Entick's Naval History, "Mr. Anson himself was everywhere present in the engagement, acting with his usual spirit and recollection; and the Hon. Mr. Keppel attended to distribute his orders between decks, with great resolution."*

The Commodore was so gratified with Keppel's conduct in the action, that he immediately gave him a lieutenant's commission. The vacancy was

* Entick's Naval History, 4to, p. 785.

occasioned by Saumarez, whom Anson promoted into the Cava Donga, now become a post-ship, under the name of the "Centurion prize."

June 25.—"General Geronimo Montero* came on board."† Entick mentions that this officer "almost wept for shame when he discovered the insignificant force that had subdued him."‡

Among Saumarez' papers is the following order:—

"Having reason to apprehend, by letters intercepted in the Spanish galleon, that we may have a Warr with France, and imagining the ship in sight may be a ship of Warr belonging to an enemy, you are hereby required and directed (as soon as you find me engaged) to embarque yourself in the pinnace, and come on board of me, having ordered the boat to be left on board of you for that purpose, and for so doing, this shall be your warrant.

"Given under my hand, and dated on board his Majesty's ship Centurion, at sea, this 8th of July, 1743. "G. ANSON.

"To Captain Philip Saumarez,
"Of his Majesty's ship the Centurion Prize."

The Centurion and her prize now stood towards China, and on the 14th of July entered the Bocca Tigris. In running up the river, they fell in with two French men of war, on board one of which was a French Commodore. It would appear from pas-

* The title of "General" was given to admirals in the Spanish service.

† Keppel's Journal. ‡ Entick's Naval History, p. 785.

sages in Keppel's journal, that Anson fully expected that the war which in the following spring was declared between France and England had already broken out.

July 16.—"At seven," says Keppel, "the ships we saw over night stood through the Bocca, and shewed French colours. *Cleared ship, weighed, and lay-to.* As the French came near, we wore alongside, and hailed them. The commodore of the French lowered his top-gallant sails, the other his top-sails."*

On the 28th of July, they anchored in Canton river.

The Commodore perceiving he was imposed upon by the contractors who had undertaken to supply him with stores and provisions, resolved to proceed to Canton, in order to obtain the necessary assistance from the Viceroy. Before his departure, he appointed Mr. Brett captain of the Centurion,†

* Until the year 1765, all nations acknowledged the supremacy of the British flag by lowering their upper sails.

† This promotion of Mr. (afterwards Sir Piercy) Brett was not confirmed at home. Anson retired from the service in consequence, nor did he return till another First Lord of the Admiralty allowed Brett's rank as captain to commence from the date of his first commission, 30th Sept. 1743. In April, 1745, Brett was appointed to the Lion, of 60 guns, and in July of that year, fought a very gallant action with two French men-of-war, one of 64, the other of 16 guns. After an obstinate engagement of several hours, both ships of the enemy sheered off, but the Lion was so complete a wreck that Brett could not follow them. In this engagement he had 52 men killed, and 100 wounded. Brett himself and all his officers were wounded, but none of them would leave the deck. The ships he had engaged were con-

on which occasion Keppel received his commission as second-lieutenant.

On the 14th of October, Anson quitted the Centurion, with Captain Saumarez and Keppel, and proceeded to Canton. Their boat's crew, consisting of eighteen men and a coxswain, "were clothed in an uniform dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames; they had scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, besides silver badges on their jackets and caps."* After remaining ten days at Canton, Keppel returned on board.

"On the 30th of November," he says, "I went up in the cutter to Wampo, and so to Canton, to attend the Commodore to the Vice King of Canton." This was a visit of state. On entering the outer gate of the city, they were met by two hundred soldiers, who attended them to the Emperor's palace. Here they found two thousand soldiers drawn up under arms, all newly clothed for the occasion; they were then conducted to the grand hall of audience, where the Viceroy was seated under a magnificent canopy in the Emperor's chair of state, attended by his Mandarins. The con-

voy to the Pretender, then on his passage to Scotland. Two years afterwards, Brett formed one of Anson's squadron in the action with De la Jonquière. In 1760, he was second in command to Sir Charles Saunders, in the Mediterranean, and died Admiral of the Blue, in 1781.

* Anson's Voyage, pp. 344, 345.

ference ended in the Commodore's obtaining his request.

On the 6th of December, the Centurion and her prize got under weigh, and on the 13th anchored off Macao. Here a representation being made to the Commodore by Captain Saumarez and his officers that the galleon was totally unseaworthy, "she was sold to two Portuguese, one of whom gave 4444 Spanish dollars for her hull, and the other 1556 Spanish dollars for her goods, on the condition that they should likewise receive the prisoners left in her, as the governor of Macao refused taking them in his garrison."*

Keppel remarks, that "the galleons, when they sail from Manilla, are so full of goods that they cannot stow away water, and the method they adopt for carrying what little they take with them is, to cat-harpin jars up the shrouds, which they depend upon filling again with rain, when they get into a higher latitude. They have bamboo frames on purpose, with which they catch all the rain that falls in the ship. They are generally six months going to Acapulco, and sometimes very sickly. When they sail from Acapulco, they are obliged to mount their cannon, and fit their netting, in case of being boarded. Sometimes they arrive so late in the Bocca Dora, that they cannot reach Manilla.

* Saumarez' Journal.

Then they put into the port of Palapa, on the southern side of the Bocca, and despatch their money to Manilla in boats, there being no fortification at Palapa."

"The Cava Donga had two gangs of lower shrouds, the one designed to be taut in dry weather, the other in wet. She was tauter and squarer rigged than a fifty-gun ship, and had a sprit-sail topmast. She seldom set stay-sails, and never went above seven and a half knots, as I was told by the prisoners."

Passing through the Straits of Sunda and Banca, the Centurion proceeded to "Cape Bona Espérance," as the Cape of Good Hope was then called, and after remaining there a few days, resumed her voyage.

On the 14th of June, Anson anchored at Spithead, having learned four days before that "the French had declared war against us on the 28th of March."*

Keppel's Journal.

CHAPTER IV.

CRUISING—CORRESPONDENCE—SHIPWRECK.

Remarks on Admiral Matthews' action off Toulon—Keppel appointed to the Dreadnought—Promoted to the rank of Commander—Of Post Captain—Commissions the Sapphire—His successful cruises—A stout privateer—Keppel puts into Kinsale for repairs—His letters to the Duke of Bedford and to Admiral Anson—He is wrecked on the coast of France, and made prisoner—His letter to Anson on the occasion, and to the Duke of Bedford—Letter from M. de Maurepas to Keppel—Keppel's hospitable treatment in France—Correspondence with Lord Anson, the Duke of Bedford, Captain Saumarez, and the Navy Board—The introduction of an uniform in the navy—Keppel is tried for the loss of the Maidstone—Acquitted, and appointed to the Anson—Member of a court-martial on Captain Fox—His letters to Anson respecting the trial—Relative ranks in the navy and army.

1744 TO 1748.

SHORTLY before Anson returned to England, Admiral Matthews' action with the combined fleets of France and Spain took place. Though not immediately connected with the subject of these memoirs, the engagement, by its results, exercised so baneful an influence on the naval battles of the ensuing thirty-eight years, including that fought by Keppel in 1778, that a brief notice of the action and its consequences will not be out of place. Nor, for another reason, should this matter pass without

notice, inasmuch as the treatment which Matthews received nearly resembles that experienced by Keppel, each, as commander-in-chief, having been brought to a court-martial to screen the misconduct of an inferior officer. In order to obtain a clear view of this transaction, it will be necessary to take a cursory glance at the respective systems of naval tactics pursued at this period by the fleets of England and France.*

The English, from a consciousness of their own superiority, endeavoured at all times to bring on an engagement, which, with equal pertinacity, the French endeavoured to avoid. Not aware that it was possible to bring the enemy to action from the leeward, the British commanders invariably strove for the weather gage, which, if they succeeded in effecting, they would bear down, and, ranging along the enemy's line, would discharge their broadsides as they passed, and repeat the manœuvre on the opposite tack: thus would they continue the engagement until night, or, what was more usual, until the disabled state of their ships obliged them to desist.

The French, finding that, as long as they could keep their adversaries to leeward, an engagement might generally be avoided, also struggled to gain or keep the weather gage; but if a battle became

* It was only in conducting *general engagements* that our system was defective. In actions with *single ships* we always shewed a decided superiority.

unavoidable, they would abandon their windward position, form a line to leeward, and pour a raking fire into our ships all the time they were coming down to the attack.

The result of this mode of warfare was, that although we did not on any occasion sustain an actual defeat, yet in not one of the many general engagements that were fought upon this system, could we claim any very decided advantage over the enemy.

It is not here contended that victories were not achieved in the interval referred to, but the exceptions that might be cited would go rather to prove the rule, inasmuch as in all the cases they exhibited a departure from the established mode of warfare. Matthews' action was one of these exceptions.

The two fleets of England and of France and Spain were nearly of equal force, each consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line. The British van was commanded by Rear-Admiral Rowley; the centre, by Admiral Matthews himself; the rear, by Vice-Admiral Lestock. Commodore Gabaret commanded the French van; Admiral de Court, the commander-in-chief, the centre; and the Spanish Admiral, Don Juan Navarro, the rear.

The action took place on the 11th of February. The preceding evening, Matthews made the signal for the fleet to bring-to; but Lestock, instead of going, as was customary, into the wake of his

commander, brought-to three leagues to windward.

The next morning, the rear division was several miles astern, and the van by no means in its proper station. Upon a signal, however, from the commander-in-chief, Admiral Rowley made all sail, but was unable to reach the enemy.

The French, true to their policy of avoiding an engagement, continued to lie-to, as if to receive Rowley's attack, but again made sail whenever he approached. Matthews, apprehensive that; if he delayed the attack till his fleet was in due order of battle, the opportunity of coming to action at all would be lost, departed from the established mode of warfare, quitted his station in the line, and, attended only by his seconds ahead and astern, Captain the Hon. John Forbes, of the Norfolk, and Captain Cornwall,* of the Marlborough, bore directly down for the Spanish admiral and his seconds. About one o'clock the action began, within pistol-shot, with great intrepidity. The Spanish admiral, with his second astern, the Isabella, behaved with equal gallantry; but the fire of the Norfolk was so severe upon the other ship, the Constant, that she fairly ran away, although both her comrades, notwithstanding they were so hotly

* This gallant officer lost both his legs by one shot, and was afterwards killed by the fall of a mast, which was shot by the board.—Campbell's Lives of British Admirals, vol. iv. p. 482.

engaged themselves, fired their lee broadsides into her to bring her back into action. Upon the Poder, the Spanish ship next ahead of the Constant, five British ships opened a cannonade, but at so respectful a distance that they did her no injury. This ineffectual fire was perceived by Hawke, at that time captain of the Berwick, and belonging to the van division. Regardless of punctilio, and more intent upon the spirit than the letter of his instructions, he also quitted the line, and bore down, at half pistol-shot, upon the Poder. At the first broadside, he killed twenty-seven of her men, dismounted seven of her guns, and after a smart action, obliged her to strike her colours. In the meanwhile, Rowley, with Capt. Osborne in the Princessa, unable to reach the enemy's van, got alongside of the French admiral and his second, the Ferme, and by engaging them, prevented them for some time from going to the support of their rear.

At length, the French admiral succeeded in coming down to the assistance of his rear division. It was almost dark. Matthews' ship, and his two seconds were complete wrecks, and being wholly unsupported, the French were enabled to retake the Poder, which, however, the next day fell again into the hands of the English, but so complete a wreck that they set her on fire.

Of the twenty-eight officers in command of ships on this occasion, no other than the six above-men-

tioned, namely, Admirals Matthews and Rowley, Captains Osborne, Hawke, Cornwall, and Forbes, took part in the engagement. Rowley received no support from any of his headmost ships, and the five captains in those immediately astern of Matthews, saw the Namur and Marlborough made complete wrecks, without attempting to offer them the slightest aid. As for Lestock, with the rear division, he had remained so long out of action, that at last, owing to a slant of wind, he could not have rendered any assistance, even if he had been so disposed.

The indecisive result of this action became the subject of parliamentary inquiry; a number of officers were brought to a court-martial and cashiered. Amongst this number was Hawke, but he was afterwards reinstated. Lestock and Matthews were tried. Lestock was honourably acquitted. Matthews was broke, and narrowly escaped with life. Lestock had kept out of fire all the engagement, Matthews had fought a very gallant action; but Lestock had *preserved* and Matthews had *broken* the line. "*Hence*," as Mr. Clerk very properly observes, "*that Sentence of the court-martial which broke Mr. Matthews ought virtually to be considered as the source of all the many naval miscarriages which took place since.*"*

* Clerk's Naval Tactics, p. 136.

As soon as the Centurion was paid off, Keppel, on his personal application to the Admiralty for employment, received an order to join the Dreadnought, Captain the Hon. Edward Boscawen.* He remained but a short time on board this ship. On the 10th of November, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and appointed to the Wolf sloop of war, and two days after sailed with nine ships under his convoy.

Before the close of the year (Dec. 14) he was transferred to the Greyhound, a twenty-gun ship, which gave him the rank of post-captain.

Almost immediately after this appointment, (Feb. 14, 1745,) he was advanced to the command of the Sapphire, a frigate of forty guns.

* Boscawen, or "Old Dreadnought," as the sailors used to call him, was the second son of the first Lord Falmouth. He behaved with great intrepidity at the siege of Carthagena. In Anson's action off Cape Finesterre he was severely wounded in the shoulder. On the breaking out of the seven years' war, he succeeded Commodore Keppel in the command of the North American station. In 1758 he commanded the naval force at the reduction of Louisbourg; and the following year, after a spirited engagement, captured or destroyed five ships of the line, part of M. de la Clue's squadron. He entertained a great friendship for Keppel, whose picture (by Reynolds) is in the possession of the representative of the family, the present Earl of Falmouth. Walpole calls Boscawen, "the most obstinate of an obstinate family;" but Pitt said of him, "When I apply to other officers respecting any expedition I may chance to project, they always raise difficulties. Boscawen always finds expedients." The custom of erecting cannon as a substitute for posts before private houses in London, originated with Boscawen, who first placed them before the house now occupied by Lord Falmouth, in St. James's Square, where they still remain: he used to call them his "Bull Dogs." He died in 1761.

A few extracts from his log will show that he was not inactive during this command.

April 16, 1745.—"At two P.M., having discovered two sail to the southward, I gave chase. At half-past three I tacked, and let out the third reef of the topsails. At ten I came up with one of them, and fired into her four twelve-pounders, fourteen six-pounders, and several volleys of small arms, upon which she brought to, being a French ship, from Martinique, bound to Rochfort, burthen 180 tons, having 18 guns, and 145 men, laden with sugar, coffee, and cotton. I sent a lieutenant with twenty-six men on board her to take possession. In transporting the prisoners from the prize, her boat was lost, with four of the prisoners. The sails and rigging of the prize were much damaged by my shot. I ordered my purser to bear and victual the hundred and forty-one prisoners at two-thirds allowance."

April 20.—"At half-past nine, seeing a sail to the N.E., I gave chase. At three I fired six two-pound shot to bring her to, and found her to be a French ship from Bordeaux, bound to Kellysback, in Ireland, having an English pass; but I detained her upon suspicion that she had contraband goods, and sent my mate with eight of my men on board her, to take possession. I received eight Englishmen out of her, who had been prisoners in France, and entered them for his Majesty's service."

May 20.—"At ten, having discovered two sail inshore, I gave chase. At eleven, the weathermost hoisted Spanish colours, and made all the sail she could from me, at the same time firing her stern chasers. I fired my fore chasers upon her; fired seven 12-pounders at the chase, which cut a considerable deal of her rigging, upon which she struck her colours and brought-to; hoisted out my barge, and sent my third lieutenant and eighteen men on board the prize, ordering him to send her back with the officers of the prize. When the barge returned, the captain of the prize told me she was a privateer* of Bilboa; that on the 11th instant he took the Dove of Biddiford, bound to Newfoundland, which he had sent to Bilboa; and that seven of her crew were on board the prize. I sent my barge for the Englishmen and the rest of the prisoners, which after having got on board, I made sail. At seven, P.M., anchored in Kinsale harbour, moored ship, and sent all my prisoners on shore to Kinsale."

We have here a specimen of a stout privateer of those days:—

May 27.—"At six, A.M., the Phœnix privateer having got under sail in order to go out of the harbour, I sent my second-lieutenant in the barge, to acquaint the captain that I had orders not to

* The Superb.

let him sail, and therefore desired that he would not attempt it. He told my lieutenant that he did not mind my orders, nor any other person's orders. When my barge put off from him, I ordered a shot to be fired athwart his head, and on his not minding that, I ordered them to fire into him, which was executed as near as possible. He then hailed me, and said, if I offered to fire another shot he would pour his whole broadside into me. I told him it was very well, and then ordered my officers, who were pointing the guns, to endeavour to sink her; but having all her sails set, she soon got round the east point of the harbour, which prevented my executing Captain Hamilton's* orders to me respecting the said privateer."

Aug. 5.—"At five, A.M., having discovered a sail, I gave chase, as did the Augusta; at six, P.M, tacked to the northward; at the same time observed her to be a French privateer, who bore down towards me so near that he fired his shot over me. He then hauled close by the wind, and made all the sail he could, and shot ahead of me; upon which I began to fire from the lower and upper gun-

* The Hon. John Hamilton, son of James, seventh Earl of Abercorn, at this time captain of the Augusta. He was drowned on the 18th of Dec. 1755, by his boat upsetting in its passage from Spithead to the shore. Charnock says—"He swam for the space of nearly twenty minutes; and while his strength of speech survived to him, continually exhorted his men to resignation; at the same time encouraging them to all possible exertion of their strength to save their lives."—Biographia Navalis, vol. v. p. 99.

decks, but he soon got without shot. I fired 101 twelve-pounders and 68 six-pounders. In chasing, I sprung my mainmast, and the main topsail stay-sail blew away. Continuing in chase, the main-studding sail broke away, and was lost. At nine, P.M., lost sight of the chase, the Augusta having sprung her mainmast, and seeing that I did not near her, she made the signal for leaving off chase."

The injuries which the Sapphire sustained in this pursuit, obliged Keppel to put into Kinsale, whence he addressed the following letter to the Duke of Bedford, then First Lord of the Admiralty:—

"Kinsale Roads, Aug. 18, 1745.

"My Lord,—As I have already received very indulgent favours from your Grace's goodness towards me, I am encouraged to beg of your Grace that I may not lie idle while the Sapphire is laid up; for, by the report that my carpenter and officers have made of the ship, she will want very great repairs when she returns to Portsmouth; and your Grace must be sensible how ill it appears for young officers to remain on shore upon their pleasure when they might be doing, perhaps, a service to their country.

"It is not that I think that I have merited your further favour, as I have as yet had no opportunity so to do. The ship I command is so good a sailer, that nothing but her being out of repair could induce me to beg your Grace to give me another. I must beg to observe, in his Majesty's

yards they fill these weak ships, that are built in merchant yards, so full of standards in repairing them, that they never sail well afterwards, but it seems necessary so to do.

"I am, with respect,

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

On the 2nd of November he received his commission for the Maidstone, a ship of fifty guns. This vessel was wrecked the following year, when every document relating to her was lost. We have consequently no information respecting Keppel's transactions at this period, but such as appear from his private letters to his friend and patron—Anson.

"Maidstone, at sea, May 13th, 1746.

"DEAR SIR,—I had not time to write to you the last time I stopt at Plymouth, otherwise you might have been sure to hear from me. The occasion of my putting in was by being so lucky as to take the Barnaba, a French privateer snow; and now I have the pleasure of letting you know that I took a French privateer ship of twelve guns, and 110 men, called the Hazard, four days ago. The Namur* lost her top-masts in the chase; but the Maidstone out-carried the Frenchman so much, that she carried away her main top-mast. We joined the Admiral† and his fleet two days

* Captain the Hon. Edward Boscawen. † Admiral Martin.

after. I don't mention to you anything concerning the fleet, as you must hear it all at your Board.

"I cannot say how the Maidstone sails yet, but I believe not very badly. I am about twenty-five or six men short of complement, and my master is so very ill, that I fear much he will die, which will be a loss to me, for I had great hopes of his making a very good one; he is a man that Lord Vere* provided for. If you know of a good Master, in case of this poor man's dying, I should be much obliged to you if you would get him made. I don't know any good ones, otherwise would have taken upon me to recommend one to you. The Admiral, I believe, has no thoughts of letting me go to Lord George,† so I must rest contented, and very contented I should be, if I could flatter myself so much as to think we should meet the French fleet. I am to thank you for getting the R's‡ of the two men turned into D's; though one of them is as trusty as can be, the other has played me a slippery trick, of which I have told Captain Fox. It is just

* Lord Vere Beauclerk, a Lord of the Admiralty, and third son of Charles, first Duke of St. Albans. He was created Baron Vere on the 28th of May, 1750, and died in 1781, leaving an only son, Aubrey, fifth Duke of St. Albans.

† Lord George Graham, son of the first Duke of Montrose, at this time commanded the Nottingham, of sixty guns.

‡ The letter R against a man's name, signified he had *run* from his ship—i.e., deserted; a D, that he was discharged.

dark, and besides, I cannot say more at present, than that I am,

"With great respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

TO ADMIRAL ANSON.

"Maidstone, Kinsale, July 22nd, 1746.

"DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my arrival here, but in a very bad plight, with fifty sick men in their hammocks, and all the men in general with the scurvy, more or less. I have not been very lucky in my cruise; only retook two Englishmen and one French wine ship, outward bound, which is here with me. I had a chase of five or six hours after a cruiser of about or near forty guns, and got within four miles of her, when it came so very foggy that I lost sight of her, and, indeed, I should have done so, had she been two miles nearer me.

"I suppose, if it is convenient to your Board, you will be so good as to let me clean at Portsmouth, as I can have no hopes of recruiting any men but Irish at this place, which I had rather go without. The Falkland has left a great many sick on shore, but they are of the same stamp with the rest,—Irish recruits of this place, which I have my share of already.

"I have acquainted your Board of the condition I

am in, and likewise sent the journal of my cruise. Lord George* is not arrived as yet, but is expected daily, under whose command I shall be very happy. Commodore Boscawen has got the Amazon with him, which of all ships I ever met with, sails the best; she would make a great smash amongst the privateers upon the Irish station. I don't mean by herself, but with a ship or two of force at her heels; as for her force, she is of little or no use, for these reasons—her guns are exceedingly close together, and her ports very small.

"The Maidstone's sailing is not extraordinary; she will not stir without her rigging is very slack; but she is so foul now that everything outsails her. I have once more risked my men on shore to the hospital; God knows whether I shall get them again or not. I must beg to conclude, with assuring you I am, with great respect,

"Your most humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO ADMIRAL ANSON.

"Lisbon river, Feb. 22nd (O.S.) 1746-7.

"DEAR SIR,—Since I left you I have seen nothing but extreme bad weather, to which, indeed, I should

* Lord George Graham died the 2nd of January following. Charnock describes him as "an officer who attained a great share of popularity, and was, indeed, very deservedly the idol of all seamen who knew him, as well on account of the high opinion entertained of his gallantry, as an invincible fund of good humour, which latter quality conciliated the affections of men, in the same degree that the first related excited their admiration and esteem."

have shewn my stern, if I had not had your packets on board: these I still have. Captain Toms, of the Alderney, heaves down to-morrow, and will be ready in about a week after. The Blandford we expect every moment; I shall deliver them (the packets) to her captain, if he comes before Toms is ready. The Vulture sloop sailed two days before my arrival here, which was not till the 17th, at night.

"I have received a great deal more damage in my rigging since I left you;* however, I shall stay a very little while here, and as I shall sail so immediately after the Vigilant, who carries convoy, I don't purpose taking any convoy at all.

"Captain Douglas hinted to me that he would stay a little while for me; but when I informed him of my damages, I believe he laid that intention aside.

"Poor Legge† is still unfortunate in wind and weather. I found him here with part of his convoy: the rest were dispersed by winds and weather.

"I cannot say I am lucky in taking only one little Martinico ship, when so many must have been near me. I fell in with a small ship from Martinico on the 11th of February; she sailed from Martinico the 28th of December (O.S.), under the convoy of L'Espérance, of sixty-four guns, and

* Anson at this time was in command of the Channel fleet.

† The Hon. Edward Legge, fifth son of the Earl of Dartmouth; at this time Commodore of a small squadron bound to the West Indies.

thirty years old, commanded by the Chevalier De Foligny, and the Achillon, of forty-six guns; she parted company in a very hard gale, in the latitude of 38° 30′ N., seventeen days before I took her. When we fell in with her, we were in 44° 10′ N.; and before I could make any stretch to the southward, I had got into 48° N.: I did not see any one ship till I took this.

"As I intend sailing without convoy, I think I stand a chance of picking up a privateer or a man of war, if there are any single ones cruising in our channel. I hope their lordships will approve of my sailing without convoy, as the Vigilant carries one, and the merchants likewise expect a convoy from England, which I suppose will carry one home: really it would be a great tie upon me to take one, and the use of the ship, which sails well, would be lost when with it. There is a great deal of money in the place, so that I am likely to carry a tolerable freight home; however, I shall not give myself any trouble about it, or stay a day after I am ready, if the wind will let me sail.

I suppose by the French galleon which Cheap* and Saunders took, you know that Admiral Razo

* Captain David Cheap was at this time in command of the Lark. The galleon captured by him and Captain (afterwards Sir Charles) Saunders, was valued at £100,000. Captain Cheap sailed with Anson as first Lieutenant of the Centurion. In November, 1740, Anson gave him the command of the Tryal sloop; and soon afterwards appointed him captain of the Wager, in which ship he was wrecked. His subsequent sufferings, and the hardships he underwent, were extreme, and accelerated his death, which occurred on the 21st of July 1752.

sailed from the Havannah, and met with an advice boat from Spain, some days after he was out, which occasioned his return to that port.

"The privateers which fitted out from this place, have taken two outward bound Spanish ships; one is a very rich one.

"I am, with great respect,

"Your very humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.*

"Maidstone, Portsmouth Harbour, April 8th, 1747.

"MY LORD DUKE,—I take the liberty of writing to your Grace, to beg you will indulge me with liberty to be absent from the ship whilst she is docking and refitting, which I apprehend will take up some time, as she wants new lower masts, and all new rigging. I must beg, if it is agreeable to your Grace, that the ship may not be docked till she is quite fitted with masts, yards, and rigging. My reason is, if she is docked before she is fitted, she will lose most of her tallow before she gets ready for the sea, and gain little or no time by it. Your Grace may be assured that my officers will lose no time in refitting the ship in my absence. As she is now tolerably well manned, and a few above complement, I fear Admiral Stuart† will rob

* First Lord of the Admiralty.

† The Commissioner at Portsmouth.

me of some of them, unless your Grace indulges me with directing him from your Board not. I hope your Grace will excuse my taking this liberty, but a good manned ship is the most essential thing at sea to make a captain easy.

"I am, with great respect,

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

On the 19th of May, Admiral Warren writes to Anson, "Captain Keppel can't get out (of harbour). I shall give him orders to the same purport as yours to Captain Stephens, and a copy of those you sent to the senior officer cruising in the Bay, that he may act by them in case he should not meet any older than himself; that, with the rendezvous, shall be given him. I think him (Keppel) a charming little man. As he has orders, in his way to the westward, to look off Cape Frehel for a South Sea ship, which his pilot informs him cannot be cut out; if there, I am of opinion that he should not shew himself, but that a cutter, or some small vessel, should go with him, to be sent in to see if she be at anchor, and in what readiness; and if they conceive she only waits for a fair wind, should not Captain Keppel wait for her till that happens, or some other ship be appointed for the service? It would be a fine thing to take their second South Sea man."*

* Anson MSS.

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO ADMIRAL ANSON.

"Maidstone, Spithead, Saturday morning, May 23, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,—I am now getting under sail, but I fear I shall not get clear out to sea, on account of a dirty southerly wind; however, I intend trying. I suppose I shan't be so happy as to see you to the westward this cruise. We have nothing of news at this place, but that Admiral Stuart will recover. The gentlemen that are now fitting, are in as bad hands as they would be were they in his (the commissioner's). I hope if you don't come to us, we shall see Mr. Warren.* I have had the pleasure of a very short acquaintance with him, but his great civility and good nature is what I cannot help admiring him for.

"Captain Montagu docks, so that I imagine he will push for his old cruise. I would trouble you for it two or three months hence, but to be with him, or he, more properly, to be with me, without a third, I think would be making a very long cruise

* Afterwards Sir Peter Warren. He commanded the naval force at the reduction of Louisbourg, for which service he was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue. He was second in command under Anson in his action with De la Jonquière, which took place three weeks before the date of this letter (May 3, 1747). Anson had given the order for his fleet to form the line of battle; but Warren, who was in the advance, and perceived that the enemy would escape while this order was being obeyed, hoisted the signal for a general chase. Highly to Anson's honour, he acquiesced in the course adopted by his subaltern, and a most brilliant victory was the result. Warren's conduct on this occasion obtained for him the Order of the Bath. He died in 1752, and a monument to his memory is erected in Westminster Abbey. Warren's opinion of Keppel may be gathered from his letter to Anson, just quoted.

too disagreeable. I have not the pleasure of much acquaintance with Captain Montagu, but too much to like him for my companion.*

"But if you will give me leave, (I leave it entirely to your goodness,) if I can get upon the coast of France, I will look under Cape Frehel, which will be a certain way to prevent the South Sea man's sailing, and then I may go about my

* The Hon. William Montagu, known by the name of "Mad Montagu," was the youngest son of Viscount Hinchinbroke, and brother to the Earl of Sandwich (a Lord of the Admiralty). He appears to have been a somewhat troublesome character. Sir Peter Warren, writing at this time to Anson, says—"Montagu has plagued me to clean, and I have ordered him in, as you gave me leave. He talks of nothing but quitting, if he has not the cruise that was promised; so God bless you, let him have it, and go upon it as soon as possible."—(Anson MSS.)

Captain Long, under whom he served as lieutenant, used to call him his "Dragon." A full account of his eccentricities would exceed the limits of a note. On one occasion, a fleet of Dutch merchantmen refusing to bring-to, Montagu overtook them, and sent his carpenters' mates to cut off twelve of the monstrous heads with which the rudders of their vessels were adorned. These he disposed on brackets round his cabin, and called them the "Twelve Cæsars." He once asked for leave of absence of Hawke, who said he could not let him go further than his barge could carry him. He instantly ordered the construction of a truck, which was to be drawn with horses, and upon this he was about to place his barge, and start for London, when Sir Edward told him he might go in any manner he thought proper.

In some night affray in Lisbon, he got a black eye. The next day, he made his barge's crew blacken their eyes with cork; the starboard rowers the right, the larboard the left, and the coxswain both eyes.

In Anson's action with De la Jonquière, Montagu, in the Bristol, got up to the Invincible. Captain Fincher, of the Pembroke, told him, if he did not put his helm a-starboard, he should run on board of him. "That's as you please," said Montagu; "neither you nor any man in the world shall come between me and my enemy." After the Invincible was silenced, he engaged several other ships; at each fresh attack he called out to his men, "Come, my brave boys, we must have another bird of them!"

business, and cruise according to my rendezvous, for I think without I had some little vessel, I can't pretend to remain on any certainty: as I said before, my appearing will certainly keep her in. Upon the whole I took it only for a feather when I received the order, for had she been ready when their lordships sent me my orders, we have had S.S.E. winds for these five days past—all fair winds for her, and bad for me to get out.

"I received my orders from Mr. W.* last night, when he set out for London, and you may depend upon my executing them to my utmost. If I had been to stay, I should have obeyed your orders, and done the honours of your table, but as I am not, I have spoken to Brett and Saumarez. I will trouble you with a letter by every opportunity I meet of sending in by; in the meantime, I am with respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

The occasion of Anson's asking Keppel to do "the honours of his table," was in consequence of several foreign noblemen and members of parliament, among whom were "Mr. Harry Finch,† Mr. Connelly, Sir William Corbett, Colonel Townshend,‡ Mr. Pitt,§ and many others," coming to Portsmouth to visit the dockyards and shipping. Saumarez and Brett received them. The former

* Admiral Warren. † Son of the Earl of Winchilsea.
‡ Afterwards Marquis Townshend. § Afterwards Earl of Chatham.

says,—"They breakfasted on board me; from thence went to the Yarmouth,* and were saluted at their going away by both our ships." Brett remarks,—"Tom† provided a handsome dinner, and I believe the gentlemen were very well pleased with their entertainment."

On the 9th of June, Keppel captured a ship of 22 guns and 230 men, and carried her into Plymouth harbour. He put to sea again immediately afterwards, when the loss of the Maidstone deprived him of his command. The account of the disaster will be found in the following letter to Anson :—

"From the Island of Noirmontier,
"Between Nantz and the Isle of Dieu,
"July 8th, O.S., 1747.

"Dear Sir,—You may imagine my concern in my present situation, so I shall not mention it, but begin by giving you a short history of my unfortunate cruise.

"On the 24th of June, I was in company with the Gloucester,‡ and Falcon sloop,§ and seeing a sail to the eastward, I chased, and left the Gloucester a great way astern. By eight o'clock, I took the chase, a French ship from St. Domingo, who informed me that their convoy was dispersed by falling in with nine sail of English men of war, and that the Eng-

* Brett's ship.

† Tom appears to have been Anson's *factotum*. His name is frequently mentioned in the Anson collection of MS. letters.

‡ Capt. Philip Durell. § Capt. Campbell.

lish had got within two miles of the enemy, who were three ships of the line. A frigate of forty guns, he said, was gone off with the trade, he believed; besides, he informed me that there were several French ships ahead of me. Upon which, and seeing a sail myself, I made the signal to the Gloucester for chasing several sail to the eastward, and gave chase myself; but instead of the Gloucester's following, she chased to the northward, as if she herself had seen something, but we saw no signal from her. By twelve at noon, I took the chase, an English snow, which was in the hands of the Spaniards. I then stood an hour to the northward, in hopes of joining the Gloucester, but it coming on foggy, I brought-to for the prizes, and did not join the Gloucester. At five in the evening, I sent the prizes to England, and made the best of my way towards Nantz, which I thought was a duty incumbent upon me from the intelligence I had received. The wind was about W.S.W., and strong gales. I had no observation the day following, but, by an Indian ship I spoke to, I found myself greatly to the southward, so stretched to the northward, with the intention of making Belleisle. Friday, the 26th, about one in the afternoon, I saw a brigantine, which I chased till I saw three ships steering for the land. About four o'clock, they bore N.E. by E. I chased them till seven at night, and then left off. I think they were about

seven miles off, and abreast of the N.W. point of Belleisle, and we about six miles from the nearest part of the island.

"The leaving off chase in this manner gave me infinite pain, especially when I found there was a sort of murmuring in the ship, though it was, I may venture to say, (even if we had daylight,) an impossibility to have cut them off. I plied the whole night, and in the morning at five, I saw three sail, two of which I took by twelve o'clock; and seeing eight more coming down upon me, I chased them, when they hauled from me, but the largest of them edged down a little across me, as if to succour the rest, and appeared a very great ship, for which reason I chased her. I had an old pilot on board for Sir Peter Warren,* besides my own; he said we could cut the ship off very well, and that he knew the coast. Unfortunately for me, we drew very near the chase, who still appeared large: at last I got within musket-shot, and fired two or three guns at him, which he did not mind. The castle fired one over me, about which time the old pilot said, 'We must haul off.' I then directed the starboard braces to be hauled in, starboarded the helm, and hauled the larboard tacks on board, which was done briskly, and without the least confusion. I then asked the man in the weather-channel what water he had; he said five fathoms,

* He had been just made a Knight of the Bath, for his conduct in Anson's action.

which startled me much, as I had not heard before of the shoalness of water, being so intent upon my chase; at the same time I was uneasy lest people should have thought it was the castle I stood in fear of; so, between chase and castle, my ruin has been effected. We struck upon the rocks of the Pelliers, two minutes after the man in the channel told me five fathom. I immediately directed the helm a-weather, and wore her off, and then the pilot made me luff again, and in five minutes more we struck with such violence that everybody thought that the ship would have gone to pieces. I believe the first stroke drove her starboard bow in. It now being impossible to save his Majesty's ship, I directed the masts to be cut away, and began to think of saving his Majesty's subjects. I sent my little four-oared boat on shore with Frenchmen, and an officer of marines who talked French, to beg assistance, which was given. The next day the weather was so bad that the boats could not get on board, but they took the drafts that our people were upon, which were tossing about at the mercy of the sea.

"I enclose you the state of the people as they are at present, and as they were when I sailed from Plymouth. We are extremely well treated here, but I hope soon to be in England, to answer, as well as I can, for my unfortunate management. I have already written to the Count of Maurepas* for our speedy return. The loss of the people, which is about twenty-seven, gives me the greatest concern, and

* The French Minister of Marine.

makes me miserable. I hope to be tried immediately on my return. Give me leave to conclude myself,

"With respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL.

"P.S.—Orders are expected here soon for sending me and the people to Rochelle."

To this account of the loss of the Maidstone we have little to add. The minutes of the court-martial corroborate the statement made in the foregoing letter, and shew that Keppel exerted himself to the utmost to save his crew, and behaved with the greatest firmness and intrepidity on this trying occasion.

In his letter to the Admiralty, dated "From the Isle of Noirmontier, July 1st, O.S., 1747," Keppel, after describing the shipwreck, says, "The French officers, to do them justice, assisted us all in their power, but the weather continuing always to blow, many of the people were lost who went upon small rafts, occasioned by their leaving the ship at a wrong time of tide. I have now on shore with me 334, which leave 48 still missing, besides what were in my prizes. I have by this post written to the Count of Maurepas,* Minister of the Marine of France, for the speedy return of my people to England."

* M. de Maurepas has been called the "Nestor of France." Ant. Fr. Bertrand de Motteville, in his private memoirs of the last year of Louis XVI., describes Maurepas as obstinate and indolent, and charges him with having "excited the fermentation of the impure elements of the Revolution" by his indifference and selfishness.

"I must," says Walpole, "interrupt my history of illustrious women with an anecdote of Monsieur de Maurepas, with whom I am much ac-

The letter from the French minister in reply is endorsed in Keppel's handwriting—

"A letter from M. Maurepas, signifying the directions he had given relative to my people, and enclosing a passport from the King, permitting me to return to England by the way I should best like, even through Paris."

COUNT DE MAUREPAS TO CAPTAIN KEPPEL.

"A Paris, le 21 Juillet, 1747.

"J'AY reçu, Monsieur, la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire le premier de ce mois, O.S. J'ay été très satisfait d'apprendre par vous même, que vous aviez lieu d'être content des secours que les officiers et habitans de l'Isle de Noirmontiers se sont empressés à vous procurer dans le naufrage du vaisseau le Maidstone que vous commandiez, et comme vous aurez appris qu'independament des 334 hommes de l'équipage qui se sont sauvés à Noirmontiers, il y'en a quelques autres qui ont gagné Bourneuf et autres ports de la coste, ceux qui ont peri se trouveront en petit nombre. Il n'y a aucune difficulté de faire repasser tout de suite en Angleterre tous les officiers et l'équipage du Maidstone, mais comme le

quainted, and who has one of the few heads which approach to good ones, and who, luckily for us, was disgraced, and the marine dropped, because it was his favourite object and province. He employed Pondeveyte to make a song on the Pompadour; it was clever and bitter, and did not spare even majesty. This was Maurepas absurd enough to sing at supper at Versailles. Banishment ensued; and, lest he should ever be restored, the mistress persuaded the King that he had poisoned her predecessor, Madame de Chateauroux. Maurepas is very agreeable and exceedingly cheerful; yet I have seen a transient, silent cloud, when politics are talked of."—From a Letter to Mr. Gray, dated Paris, January 25, 1766; Walpole's Letters, vol. v. p. 127.

transport ne peut être fait promptement que par St. Malo, il devient indispensable de faire conduire tous vos gens d'abord à Nantes et ensuite à Dinan d'où ils passeront en une marée à St. Malo quand le pacquebot qui pourra les transporter sera prest. Je donne ordre à M. Millain de faire fournir à tous vos gens, les chemises, souliers, vestes, et autres hardes dont ils auront besoin, et si vous jugez à propos de voir M. Millain, il se fera un plaisir de concerter avec vous les arrangements qui seront à faire de sa part pour que vos gens soient aussi bien traités que la circonstance peut le permettre.

" Quant à vous, Monsieur, vous trouverez peut être à propos de rester avec vos gens pour en leur faisant observer une meilleure discipline, faciliter leur marche jusqu'à Dinan, et ensuite leur transport par St. Malo, mais si vous preferez de charger de ce soin les lieutenants et autres officiers qui sont sous vos ordres, vous serez le maistre, au moyen du passeport qui vous trouverez cyjoint, de prendre pour retourner en Angleterre la route que vous jugerez devoir choisir, même en passant par Paris, si vous le souhaitez. Je vous prie seulement de vouloir bien m'informer du parti que vous prendrez.

" Je suis, très sincérement,
" Monsieur,
" Votre très humble, et très obeissant serviteur,
" MAUREPAS."

Keppel and his crew were sent prisoners to Nantz, in Brittany; but, at the expiration of five weeks, he returned to England on his parole. The kindness

and hospitality shewn to him during his detention in France, produced a reciprocal treatment of the French officers, prisoners in this country. The Duke of Bedford, first Lord of the Admiralty, in a letter to his colleague, Lord Anson, says—"I think the behaviour of the French to Captains Keppel and Lisle,* and the rest of the officers of the Maidstone and Severn, very justly entitle their officers to a like return and civility from us."†

The following letter was written on his arrival in England from St. Malo:—

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Portsmouth, Aug. 3, 1747.

"DEAR SIR,—I will not trouble you with a great deal in this letter. I hope you received that which I wrote you from France, which was as particular as I then could make it. I made the loss then about twenty-six, but since that I find it to be no more than twenty-one. The usage has been so good, that this letter would be quite filled were I to mention it all: as that is needless, I shall leave it till I have the pleasure of seeing you, which I hope will be on Wednesday. At present I am a good deal fatigued. I have wrote to Mr. Corbett‡ by this post, in which I acquaint their lordships of the men that will be ready to embark,

* Captain Lisle was returning to England from the West Indies in the Severn, of fifty guns, with the Woolwich, a ship of the same force, and a convoy of merchant ships, in company, when he fell in with a squadron of the enemy, commanded by the Marquis de Conflans. Captain Lisle, after defending himself with great gallantry for two hours, was compelled to surrender.

† Anson MSS. ‡ Secretary to the Admiralty.

and of a lieutenant, and thirty more that are carried into Brest, (people that I put on board two St. Domingo ships,) so that my cruise, besides my misfortune in losing the King's ship, proves also so in everything else that belonged to us.

"The intelligence I got in France I have not mentioned to the Board, as I could not be certain of it, for I heard it in France, where there is seldom any truth spoken on such occasions. However, their talk was, that fourteen sail were nearly ready; eleven of which were at Brest, and three at Rochfort, in order to convoy their trade to the East and West Indies and Canada. You must be sensible that I cannot confirm this news, but shall be able, perhaps, to give you a better account by word of mouth. In the meantime, I am, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. Keppel.

"P.S.—As I am over on my parole, I must beg you will be so good as to direct an exchange for me with one of the French captains. The sooner you think proper the better."

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

"Portsmouth, August 11, 1747.

"My Lord Duke,—Your Grace's indulgence to me hitherto, makes me take the liberty of writing to you now. I should have done so on my arrival at Portsmouth, from St. Malo's, but that I flattered myself with the honour of seeing your Grace in town. The officers belonging to the Maidstone are daily ex-

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pected, and I should be extremely obliged to your Grace that I may be tried by a court-martial, according to custom, as soon as possible; for, till that form is over, I cannot ask to be employed, which makes me so earnest about it, as I think I have no business much on shore in war time. My Lord Anson was so good as to say that my trial should be immediately (if your Grace approved of it), when the officers arrive.

"I will not trouble your Grace any further, but am, my Lord Duke,

"With respect, your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

The loss of the Maidstone, instead of operating to Keppel's disadvantage, raised him higher in the estimation of his friends and the service in general. Sir Peter Warren, in a letter to Lord Anson, writes, "I join entirely with you in liking Keppel's eagerness to come at the enemy, and hope he will soon get a good ship to be at them again."* That the Admiralty viewed his conduct in the same light with Anson and Warren, appears from their promising him, on his acquittal, the command of the Anson, a fine sixty-gun ship, then building at Bussleton.

The following letter, to one of his old Centurion shipmates, has no date, but was evidently written soon after his arrival:—

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO CAPTAIN PHILIP SAUMAREZ.

"DEAR SIR,—It is not long since I had the pleasure of seeing your father and brother, at Guernsey, for

* Anson MSS.

whose politeness and civility to me I am greatly obliged. My dear sir, I was in hopes to have had a pleasant summer's cruise amongst you, but you know we are not certain of ourselves, nor what is to become of us; for instead of a pleasant summer's cruise I have been in France, learning the language and manners of the French, these five weeks. I had my fortune before my eyes, but eagerness and a bad pilot put an end to it.

"I understand you dock at Plymouth, so that I sha'n't be so happy as to see you for some time. I am to have a new sixty-gun ship, with all my people, if I come well off at my trial, which I don't apprehend can be otherwise, so that in about ten or twelve weeks I hope to be with you again.

"The siege of Bergen Opzoom* looks with a bad aspect on our side: both armies are in motion, and people think it may be brought to a battle: if so, it will be the one of the greatest consequence that has been this war. It will be very fatal if we are beat, and will save Flanders if we beat them; but I fear they wont let us come to action on any equality.

"The agent, Timothy Brett,† was to have gone with Boscawen, but his great interest in these last prizes has laid that scheme aside, and his brother, Charles Brett, is gone with Boscawen, in his room. I must tell you of Mr. Timothy's being served with a writ. Mr. Henshaw, some time ago, took it into his head, in a letter, to affront Timothy, and not

* At this time invested by the French.

† Timothy Brett, Esq., appointed a Commissioner of the Navy in 1764, and Comptroller of the Treasurer of the Navy's accounts in 1773.

choosing to give him satisfaction, neither by word nor deed, he (Timothy) has broke Mr. Henshaw's head, for which, I fear, unless he is *very artful*, he will be obliged to pay a great deal of money.

"What think you of all these promotions? How do you like Admiral H.?* Does he carry it high or low?

"I go down to Portsmouth, to be tried, when my officers come. I would write you news if there was any, but as there is none, give me leave to conclude myself,

"Yours sincerely, "A. KEPPEL."†

In a letter from Keppel's friend, Timothy Brett, to Captain Philip Saumarez,‡ dated August 12th, 1747, he says, speaking of Lord Anson, "He certainly is the most rising man we have; and don't be surprised if, within a twelvemonth, you see him at the head of the fleet. I find you are much in his good graces, (as Keppel tells me.) He told him he had received a very humorous letter from you, which he intended answering.

"I supped with Keppel and Saunders last night. Keppel is very well, and in great spirits; he is to have a sixty-gun ship, building at Bussleton, with his men; he has been very politely treated, which has occasioned great civilities to be shewn to St. George, who has dined about with most of the great men.§

* Hawke. † Mr. De Saumarez' MSS.

‡ This officer fell in action in the month of October of this year.

§ The Chevalier St. George commanded the French ship L'Invincible, in the action with Anson, off Cape Finisterre. It was he who, in delivering up his sword to Anson, said, in allusion to the names of his own

"Saunders* lost the election at Heydon by two; but I believe he petitions. I am told the Litchfield election cost Lord Gower and Lord Anson 20,000*l.*, and I believe it did."†

In the following extract, mention is made, for the first time, of an uniform for the navy. The reader will perceive that, instead of the "blue jacket," which is now so identified with the profession as to form a synonym for its wearer, the service ran some risk of being accoutred in "gray faced with red."

The letter, which is dated "London, 20th Aug., 1747," is from Mr. Timothy Brett to Captain Saumarez:—"I delivered your letter to Captain Keppel. We spent the evening last night together at Mr. Clevland's, and were very merry. I told Keppel of your uniform; I find it is going to be general. He is going to have one made up, which is to be gray faced with red, and laced in the manner you describe yours; this and two or three others are to appear at court for the King's approbation."‡

Before this time, officers and men dressed as they pleased—thus Keppel wore a jockey cap at the taking of Payta. Smollett has given a curious sketch of a dandy captain of that period. The portrait may be a little overcharged, but it was evidently drawn from the life. The writer is describing a Captain Whiffle:—

and that of another ship that had struck to the British flag, "Vous avez vaincu L'Invincible, et La Gloire vous suit." Anson was very kind to him, presented him to the King, and got him made an honorary member of White's Club.

* Afterwards Admiral Sir Charles Saunders.

† Mr. De Saumarez' MSS. ‡ Ibid.

"A white hat garnished with a red feather adorned his head, from whence his hair flowed on his shoulders in ringlets, tied behind with a ribbon; his coat, consisting of pink-coloured silk, lined with white, by the elegance of the cut retired backward, as it were, to discover a white satin waistcoat embroidered with gold, unbuttoned at the upper part, to display a brooch set with garnets, that glittered in the breast of his shirt, which was of the finest cambric, edged with right Mechlin; the knees of his crimson velvet breeches scarcely descended so low as to meet his silk stockings, which rose without spot or wrinkle on his meagre legs, from shoes of blue meroquin, studded with diamond buckles, that flamed forth rivals to the sun. A steel-hilted sword, inlaid with gold, and decked with a knot of ribbon, which fell down in a rich tassel, equipped his side, and an amber-headed cane hung dangling from his wrist. But the most remarkable parts of his furniture were, a mask on his face, and white gloves on his hands, which did not seem to be put on with an intention to be pulled off occasionally, but were fixed with a curious ring on the little finger of each hand."*

With respect to another portion of the dress, Sir John Barrow says, "It is stated, on what appears good authority, that when it (the uniform) had reached the wardroom, there was but one uniform-coat to be put on by any of the lieutenants, when sent on duty to other ships, or on shore: that the colour of the breeches was still left to the fancy of each, and was generally *black* or *scarlet*." †

* Roderick Random, vol. i. p. 224. † Barrow's Life of Anson, pp. 150, 151.

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO CAPTAIN SAUMAREZ.

"London, August 20th, 1747.

"My dear Sir,—I received the pleasure of yours just as my Lord Anson was talking of you, and said that he had received a letter from you, which he should answer, but in the meantime desired me to make some excuse to you for him, which I readily undertook. He at present has the trouble of the navy on him, and has not time to turn about, as there are many days that they cannot make a Board; so pray be easy till you hear from him.

"Your letter is so extremely polite, that I don't know how to answer it, but still write to keep up our intimacy, which I assure you gives me great pleasure.

"Timothy Brett tells me you have made an uniform coat &c. of your own. My Lord Anson is desirous that many of us should make coats after our own taste, and then a choice to be made of one to be general, and if you will appear in yours, he says, he will be answerable your taste will not be amongst the worst.

"We reason variously on the subject of Bergen-Opzoom: the place still defends itself bravely, and the French do not get an inch of ground but what they undermine; but still I fear it can't hold out above a week or ten days longer. I wish I may judge wrong.*

* This fortress fell into the hands of the French on the 16th of September. An old lady is said to have materially protracted its surrender by laying out 10,000*l.* in furnishing the garrison with provisions, which she promised to continue to do as long as they held out.

"Only think what alarms we shall have, and how much our cruising will be interrupted if any more invasions are trumped up, which they will be in the winter, so that their Martinico ships may pass safe without the English molesting them.

"I pity your situation at Plymouth, but you will soon be at sea. I suppose you have a strange set of captains at Plymouth; they are people I hardly ever heard of before. I hope soon to be with men who will be the thing I want; but, from the finest manned ship in the service, perhaps shall have the worst; though I am told I shall have my own people, but to expect them all to come will be extraordinary.

"Cheap and Saunders, who are now with me, desire their compliments. Dinner waits, so must beg to conclude with assuring you that I am, with the greatest truth,

"Yours,

"A. KEPPEL."

The two following letters are written from the seat of Keppel's uncle, the Duke of Richmond:—

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Goodwood, Sunday, (Sep.) 7th, 1747.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I reckon by the time this gets to London it will find your Lordship in town, where I shall not be—God knows when.

"I have had no tidings of my lieutenant, and cannot imagine what delay keeps him, or to what it is owing; and as I am so near Portsmouth, it is better for me to keep here till I hear of him. You'll say, perhaps, that I am indulging too much, and indeed I

can't help thinking that a great deal of it would spoil me for a cruiser. The Duke of Richmond asked me if you proposed coming, and expressed a pleasure, expecting you did intend such a tour. I told him I feared your Lordship would not have time.

"When I was at Portsmouth, Mostyn and I took a ride to Busselton, to see the Anson: we thought her a very fine ship, and could not find a great deal of fault with her frame: she still retains a fat buttock: she has a noble floor, which would have been complete if it had gone further forward, and less aft; but altogether she is a very fine ship. I was extremely surprised to find her in such little readiness, as I was told by Clevland* she was to be launched a fortnight ago. I wrote to Lord Vere† about dispatching her, begging everything might be ordered ready for her when she comes to Portsmouth, and his Lordship is so good as to write me word he has given directions about it. The people's time will soon be out, and on their arrival at Portsmouth they will find no ship for them, so that Mr. Stuart will put them on board the Royal George at Spithead. Perhaps he may get some of them on board her, but I fear the rest that remain (as seamen have no thought) will get out of the way, and so I shall lose many of them. The Duke lies in the harbour, and if they were to be put there for their provision, with liberty to go on shore every day till the Anson is ready for them, it would, in my opinion, be a very agreeable thing to them, and be the most likely way of having

* Secretary to the Admiralty. † Lord Vere Beauclerk.

them for the new ship. Your Lordship will be to judge whether it is likely to be or not.

"It is with the greatest concern that, for these five days, we have seen Sir Peter Warren tumbling about with the tide, and was not yesterday got out of our sight; it will vex him extremely, and make him low-spirited, I fear. I saw him the day before he sailed: his spirits were then good, and his zeal great. I wish him success, and well out of the Channel.

"I was sorry to hear, a second time, of the Spanish man-of-war's escaping.* She has got clear of all the cruisers surprisingly.

"I must beg to conclude, and am, with respect,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Goodwood, Friday, (Sep.) 16th, 1747.

"MY LORD,—I am still living at Goodwood—a life rather too good for me, considering a winter is near, and I near going to sea. I wish the latter was as near as I could wish.

"Lieut. Sellers, who is appointed second lieutenant of the Anson, was with me to-day, but did not seem to think the Anson would be launched this month. If she is not, it may be two months at least before I get to sea. As the ship is now commissioned, the men may as well be entered for her by the clerk of the check at Portsmouth, though victualled on board one of the large ships. I wish, instead of

* The Glorioso, of 74 guns, and 750 men.

troubling your Lordship in this manner, that my trial was over, that I might kiss your Lordship's hands in town.

"The Duke of Richmond went to town this morning, but comes away Sunday early; as he only dines at Claremont with the Duke of Newcastle that day.

"I am extremely sorry for Sir Peter Warren's indisposition, but hope he will soon recover his health, and command the western squadron again. I wish I had any news to acquaint you with, but as I have none, I must beg to conclude, and am, my Lord, with respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Portsmouth, Oct. 13th, 1747.

"MY LORD,—The Anson was launched the tenth, and went off extremely well, without any discompositure at all. The third lieutenant is with her, with about fifty of the men. He imagines he shall get round to Portsmouth to-morrow or next day, if the wind permit. She has a good appearance in the water, and promises very well for sailing. She swims about four feet two inches by the stern, which makes me think she is not fat at all under water. They have contrived her very ill within-board, but I hope we shall get that altered here.

"I have been with Sir Peter Warren for these two days, and would have stayed longer, but that I am obliged to go to Goodwood, according to a promise I made there. You will say, perhaps, that they

easily prevailed with me. I go there to-morrow, but still will leave that place to have the pleasure of meeting you in Hampshire, if you will let me know the day you come down, and where you go to. The Deptford is come in, and it is really a pity everything is not ready for them (Hawke's fleet) to depart with this easterly wind. I imagine the French squadron will make use of it. I wish A. Hawke may meet them, if he has ships enough. The captains of his squadron are in general very good people; I believe I may say the best in the service, for their number.

"I have seen the two lieutenants of the Anson; I believe they will do very well, and that she will be well equipped with such and everything else, but men. They will be a great while fitting out, as every bit of rope will be new; and as it is winter, we must be very careful in rigging her, otherwise we might make a cruise of a week, and then return without masts. I have desired the lieutenant to rig the lower masts, seize the dead eyes, and reeve the laniards, according to Mr. Caskwine's opinion, which I have described to the officer.

"I must beg leave to solicit you for Mr. Henry Baker, who was third lieutenant of the Maidstone, and who I blamed greatly, till I had inquired into his conduct. I since find that the poor man did everything in his power; he was a little out in his judgment, most certainly, but he really meant well, and is now begging me to get him employed, which will in some measure be clearing his character, otherwise he must be ruined in the eyes of the world, and his friends, for ever; so that I should be extremely

obliged to your Lordship, if you would appoint him second or third lieutenant of a cruising ship. Whilst he served with me in the Maidstone, he was always attentive to his duty, otherwise I would not attempt begging a ship of your Lordship for him.

"I am, with respect,
"Your lordship's humble servant,
"A. KEPPEL."

Shortly after the date of this letter, Keppel returned to Portsmouth to take his trial. He received while there, probably from some of his South Sea shipmates who were in the action, early intelligence of Hawke's brilliant victory on the 14th of October, off Cape Finisterre. The following letter upon the subject has been kindly furnished to the author by Mr. Upcott:—

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Portsmouth, Oct. 26th, 1747.

"MY LORD,—I congratulate your Lordship on the success of the English navy, and have great joy myself in hearing how nobly all my friends behaved. Surely there never was more spirit shewed, except by the captain of the Kent,* from whom, indeed, I never expected much. The French must now be quite ruined. Poor Saumarez died like what he was, alongside of L'Etonnant† (Tonnant,) much regretted by the whole squadron. I need not say more of him, as your Lordship knew him so well. I inquired par-

* Captain Fox.

† The Tonnant is also called L'Etonnant, in Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 74, of Appendix.

ticularly after Rodney* and Charles Saunders, and by accounts no one outdid the latter. The Yarmouth† lay by one of their very large ships, was laid on the careen for some minutes, and what is more surprising, she had a gun dismounted, which fell down the powder scuttle, and stopped their communication to it, so that for a long time they were useless in a manner. I am sorry to say that I hear the Kent is not worse than when she left the harbour. Poor Mostyn was not with them, unlucky man! Your lordship will excuse the shortness of this, as I have many more to write. I am, my lord, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

The captain of the Kent here alluded to, was Captain Fox. In his report of the action, Admiral Hawke praises the officers and men, who behaved "in every respect like Englishmen; only he was sorry to acquaint the lords of the Admiralty, that he must except Captain Fox, whose conduct on that day he begged their lordships would give directions for inquiring into at a court-martial."

The strictures of Hawke, and the inference of Keppel, upon Fox's conduct, were hardly borne out by the evidence of the court-martial, of which Keppel was afterwards a member.

Captain Philip Saumarez was uncle to the late gallant lord of the same name. On the 11th of October, 1746, being then in command of the Not-

* Afterwards Lord Rodney. † Saunders' ship.

tingham, of 60 guns, he took the Mars, a French ship, of 64 guns, and greater by 300 tons than his own. The engagement, which was within pistol-shot, lasted two hours. On the 3rd of May, 1747, he joined Anson's squadron, and was present at the defeat of the French fleet under Commodore de la Jonquière. He was killed in Hawke's action, while engaging with the Tonnant, a ship of 80 guns. As if anticipating his approaching fate, Saumarez had a short time previously made his will, "from a reflection," he states, "of the uncertainty of human life in general, particularly when engaged in a military profession, and in order that he might face death cheerfully, whenever duty or nature should call upon him." Among the legacies is a mourning ring of 10*l.* value, to Keppel.

Keppel's other friend and shipmate in the South Seas, Charles Saunders, also acquitted himself nobly in this action. "He lay two hours and a half closely engaged with the Neptune, who had 100 men killed, and 140 wounded, and was almost entirely dismasted before she struck."*

Admiral Hawke arrived at Portsmouth on the 31st of October, and on the same day presided at the court-martial assembled to try Keppel for the loss of his ship.

The court came to the unanimous resolution that "the loss of his Majesty's ship Maidstone was in no manner owing to Captain Keppel, or any of his officers, but to the thickness of the weather at the time

* Entick's Naval History, p. 816.

the Maidstone was chasing in with the land, and the ledge of rocks she struck upon being under water, and therefore not perceived, and trusting to the ship the Maidstone was chasing, which had the appearance of being a large one, and drawing near as much water as the Maidstone."*

The court attached no blame to Réchard, the pilot, but they have this note in their proceeding, by which it appears that the Maidstone may have been lost from the ignorance of her officers of the French language.

" N.B.—As this man (Réchard) speaks excessive bad English, not to be at all understood but by such who are acquainted with the French language, the master and lieutenant might possibly enough misunderstand him, and it was equally out of his power to understand them."†

A few days after the decision of the court-martial, Keppel was appointed to the Anson, then lying at Portsmouth, and destined to form one of the fleet under Admiral Sir Peter Warren.

On the 25th of November, a few weeks after his own trial, Keppel sat as one of the members of the court-martial upon Captain Fox, of the Kent. The charge against Captain Fox was that he " did not come properly into the fight," nor " do his utmost to engage, distress, or damage the enemy ;" nor " assist his Majesty's ships which did."

He was declared to be not guilty " in point of courage or disaffection, but in point of conduct only."

* Minutes of Court-Martial. † Ibid.

This misconduct was thought to consist, 1st, in backing his mizen-topsail; and 2ndly, in leaving the Tonnant. His sentence was "to be dismissed from the command of his Majesty's ship the Kent."

The opinion of his brother officers was generally unfavourable to Fox. In allusion to Fox, Saumarez is said to have remarked to some one, shortly before he was killed, "If I survive this day, I will bring that fellow to a court-martial;" yet as far as the evidence goes, he seems to have had hard measure dealt out to him. He had previously been considered a most distinguished officer. Four months before Hawke's action, he had been sent out with a squadron of eight men of war, when he fell in with and captured forty-six French ships, having 1246 sailors on board, with more than half a million of money.

Fox's defence against the charges was, that he backed his mizen top-sail "to give room for the Eagle* to shoot ahead and fire clear of him;" that on going to the lee gangway, he found the cross-jack brace and mizen-top-sail bowline unreeved, which had been done by his people, in consequence of their being in the way of the gun at the gangway, and was the cause of the mizen top-sail lying aback eight or ten minutes longer than he intended, he not having been aware of the circumstance before.

Finding the Eagle remain by the ship he had been engaged with, he fired into the Neptune, and raked her, but desisted soon afterwards, fearing that his shot would strike the Eagle. He then engaged the

* Commanded by Captain, afterwards Lord Rodney.

Fougeux, of 64 guns, within musket and pistol shot, for three quarters of an hour, when she struck to him. He afterwards made sail ahead to the Tonnant, of 80 guns, and after raking her, engaged her for three quarters of an hour, in which time he brought down her main and mizen topmasts. His ship's preventers, braces, and hoppers, being all shot away, he was forced suddenly ahead; but he did his utmost to lay all aback and come on her again.

At this time the lieutenant and master told him that the Admiral had made his signal, and "advised him that he wanted help, and that 'twas better to follow him than be accused of disobedience." He, reflecting on the one hand upon the "improbability of the disabled ship's getting away when four or five of theirs (the English) were coming-to and near; and, on the other hand, upon the disobedience to a signal of his commanding officer, determined upon leaving the Tonnant, and following the Admiral."

It appeared in evidence, "that when he bore away to the Admiral, he cried out, with regret, 'What a pity it is that I must leave this ship before she has struck!'"

Beatson, in his Naval and Military Memoirs, seems to think that the lieutenant and master of the Kent really mistook the signal, and argues for "the absolute necessity there is for a regular and clear system of signals;" but Keppel, in two of his letters to Lord Anson, is of opinion that these officers misled Fox to get out of fire.

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Portsmouth, Dec. 3, 1747.

"My Lord,—As we have one day of respite, I now have time to write to your Lordship. I wish with all my heart I could say when this court-martial would end, but that I fancy no one of us can determine, or pretend to say. I think we might ask less questions, and be just as wise as to the thing in question, which would have curtailed it a great deal. It appears very bad, and I am extremely concerned to see the prisoner so unconcerned, and seemingly confident that he can disprove what is alleged. I wish he may bring himself off, but I fear he will not. I don't see what the captains could do less than refuse to rank with him, and in my opinion think they would have demeaned themselves not to have done what they did; but people differ.

"I was this morning with Admiral Stuart about docking the Anson; at first he was against our docking, as we had not our complement, but when I pressed him about it, he then consented she should be. I hope your Lordship will consider me in regard to men, that I may not lose my tallow. If none of the paid-off ships' men come in time, would it be a great sin to have some seamen from the St. George, and to replace them as the other men come down. All my Maidstones are not come, but all the worst, worthless rascals, are. I shall be prettily made up to begin in a new ship. You will think I am unreasonable if I beg her complement to be made 440, which would make me very happy.

"I must now beg to mention to your Lordship what is very material to me, which is, my health; which I think makes it very necessary I should be in town before I go a winter's cruise, if it be but for a day or two; and should be much obliged to you if you will send orders to Admiral Stuart to let me come the moment this court-martial is over, and not wait for the other; this persecutes me sufficiently, and nothing but being thought idle makes me attend it, for, as I said before, I suffer by it.

"Your Lordship's usual goodness to me makes me take so much liberty.

"I am, with respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Portsmouth, Dec. 17, 1747.

"MY LORD,—The length of this trial is so different from the idea your Lordship seemed to have of it, that I reckon you are surprised how we have contrived to protract and lengthen it out as we have. However, latterly we have been as concise as possible. I suppose you know at your Board how it has so far gone. Things are differently represented on both sides; but, upon the whole, poor Fox is hardly treated by the squadron, and to me he seems to have been in the hands of his first lieutenant and master—two d—d bad fellows, I verily believe. As it is not over, I can't inform your Lordship further. I reckon we shall finish by next Monday or Tuesday, when I

suppose another will come on upon Captain Callis,* which I hope to get off, as it prevents my taking proper care of my health.

"Ned Legge was elected here the day before yesterday, and I was at his ball; but the Gosport arrived yesterday, which confirms his death. I was extremely sorry to hear it, particularly as I knew it would give Harry Legge great concern.† However, I may venture to say to your Lordship, that I think it a happy thing for Ned Legge and all his friends; his temper was such as never to be pleased; generally wrong in his conception of things, and giving satisfaction to none. All these misfortunes in him must so have embarrassed his friends, that altogether they would have had a hard task to have been able to sup-

* This officer commanded the Oxford, of 50 guns, and had, in the month of October, fallen in with the Glorioso, a Spanish ship of 74 guns and 750 men. After engaging the enemy for some time, he was obliged to abandon the contest, in consequence of her superior force. This so weighed on his spirits that he demanded a court-martial to inquire into the cause of his failure. He was honourably acquitted.

† The Hon. Henry Legge, fourth son of the Earl of Dartmouth, and a Lord of the Treasury. In a letter to Mr. Pitt he writes—"The loss of my brother was the stroke I dreaded most, and is the severest I could have felt; and though I know nothing is more vain and childish than to lament the death of a mortal man, except founding one's happiness upon the life of a seaman, yet, to you, let me own my weakness. It has gone deep into that provision of happiness which I had foolishly laid up for my future life, and damped that ambition which could have been much more active in his behalf than ever it will be in my own. It was one article of that ambition, which I often counted upon, to have made him thoroughly known to you, and the more he had been so, I dare say the higher he would have stood in your love and esteem. But these are the *frigida curarum fomenta* which fill one's head all night long, and cannot be too soon forgotten. Poor Greenville tries all he can to teach me that lesson, and, I am afraid, is very far from having learned it himself."—Chatham Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

port him. I suppose you put Sir Edward Hawke up in Legge's place.

"I hear there has been a second hurricane at Antigua; what damage it has done I have not heard, but both put together has been a good convoy to the merchant ships of Monsieur de l'Etendiére's convoy. Bordelay is at Martinico, I hear; I hope he will put to sea for Europe soon, that I may have a chance of falling in with him; but I suppose he will not wait for the Martinico's convoy coming away, which, by former accounts, won't be soon.

"The privateers, I am told, swarm in the Channel, on and a little off soundings, which is what we are to expect, I imagine, for our prizes this winter, unless the Spaniards venture home, and steer their course for Ferrol, though Cadiz is a more likely place. Why should they not come for the coast of Galicia? You see the Glorioso* did; but should they venture home, which I have not heard they will, the fortune is too great to fall in with them; but should we, a Tonnant shall not (I am sure ought not to) escape, as the first Tonnant did in the late action.

"The Anson has been docked these ten days, and in ten more I hope to be ready to sail, if I am manned

* This ship, after many escapes, was captured in October, 1747. She was first attacked by Captains Erskine and Cruickshanks, in the Warwick and Lark; from both of which she managed to escape. She was next assailed by Captain Callis, in the Oxford; then by four stout privateers, under Commodore Walker: the following day she encountered the Dartmouth, commanded by a gallant young captain of the name of Hamilton, who engaged her, regardless of her vast superiority. In the heat of the action, the Dartmouth blew up, when all on board, with the exception of a lieutenant and eleven men, perished. The next day the Glorioso struck to the Russell.

by that time. Mr. Stuart, as yet, has had no orders about it, so does not know how I am to be manned. I have got about two hundred—out of which are, officers and servants, and all the worthless fellows that were on board the Maidstone; so that if I am not completed with good seamen, I shall be in a complaining and bad way. I believe the ship will prove a fine man-of-war, and carry her ports well.

"I have obtained an order from the Navy Board, (but was obliged to persist in my argument,) to carry my steering well before the mizen-mast, and carry an awning forward; it makes a great amendment in the ship.

"I hope Mr. Anson is well. I beg my respects to him, and am, my Lord, with respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Portsmouth, Dec. 22nd, 1747.

"MY LORD,—We have at length ended this long and troublesome trial. You will know the sentence, I conclude, before you receive this, and know likewise the reason of its being so favourable. Poor man! I firmly think him no coward, but an unsettled, silly man, with a confused mind, but a good heart, I really believe. I suppose Captain Callis's trial soon comes on. I don't believe I shall be able to attend it, as it is so inconvenient for me in the condition I am in; and, indeed, this of Fox's has kept me backward greatly. I reckon we are abused by the world for not shooting Fox, and he, poor man! fancies, I

believe, that he should have been acquitted. What his first lieutenant deserves, I can't determine; but he must be a sad dog, and so must his master have been.

"The Anson goes out of the harbour on Friday or Saturday, if the wind will permit her. I then hope to be manned, that I may not lose more of my tallow. We are already fifteen days out of the dock. I have now great hopes of her. If she prove stiff, I flatter myself she will answer in every other way. I will not puff yet, but be very honest in my accounts of her. We shall carry our midship port about six feet out of the water, with 250 tons of ballast in, and three months' provision for 420 men.* I wish I could say now that I was well manned, and waited only for orders to sail. Whenever your Lordship thinks proper, I am sure I am happy in being at your disposal, and wish always to merit your protection.

"I have been solicited by my officers, and all my people, to apply to your Board about being on full

* Mr. Miles, in his "Epitome of the Naval Service," published in 1841, mentioning the build of men-of-war, says—"In 1742, another scale of increased dimensions was established; but shortly after, general complaints were made, that owing to the gradual enlargement of ships, their former armament was now inadequate to their tonnage. Objections were also heard of their defective construction; that they were crank, and heeled too much in blowing weather, and carried their guns too near the water. In consequence of this, in the year 1745, a committee, under the presidency of Sir John Norris, (composed of all flag-officers unemployed, and of the commissioners of the navy who were sea officers, assisted by the master shipwrights,) was ordered to prepare a 'scheme of scantlings,' embodying all the elements which were then judged to be the most perfect; from this new vessels were modelled, and it was found that they carried their guns well, and on the whole were stiff, but too full formed in the after part."—pp. 28, 29.

pay till my court martial came on; my men particularly say the Act of Parliament so directs. I wish it was settled. Their petition will be sent up; and I hope it will meet with success, not only on their account, but my own.

"I am under a good deal of concern for Mr. Sellers, my second lieutenant; he is at the hospital, and so ill that I believe he will die. It is impossible for him to go the cruise with me; therefore, I have troubled your Board to appoint Mr. Thomas Taylor, now on half-pay, to be my third lieutenant, and Mr. Broadly, who is my third, to be my second, which I must trouble your Lordship about, and that it may be done immediately, as my ship is so near ready to sail.

"I am sorry I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you before I sail, but it cannot be, so I remain contented, and hope that the next time I come to the eastward of Plymouth it will be on some good account, otherwise I shan't think of it.

"I beg to conclude with my respects to your brother, and am, my Lord,

"With the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

The petition from the officers and crew of the Maidstone for the wages due to them, appears to have been unsuccessful, since Keppel received the following letter in reply from the Secretary to the Admiralty:—

"Admiralty office, 23rd Dec. 1747.

"SIR,—The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having received a petition, from the officers and men belonging to his Majesty's late ship Maidstone, desiring wages to be paid for the said ship to (the time) the court martial was held; I am commanded by their Lordships to signify their direction to you, to let the said officers and men know the like has never been allowed; and that the late Act of Parliament, which directs the companies of ships cast away, if acquitted at a court-martial, to be paid their wages to the day of holding such court-martial, does particularly *except the companies of ships taken by the enemy*. "I am, &c.,

"THOMAS CORBETT."

"To Hon. Captain Keppel, Anson, Portsmouth."

This was not the only serious loss which Keppel and his crew sustained by the wreck of the Maidstone, as will appear from the following extracts:—

"COPY of a letter from the Navy Board to Mr. Corbett, dated the 18th Dec. 1747:—

"Captain Keppel having represented to the Right Hon. the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that he cannot obtain a bill for the head money for a privateer called the Revenge, which he took, because monthly books have not been delivered into this office, in order to be compared with the prize lists, and that he cannot now deliver in any such, by reason all his books and papers were lost in the Maidstone at the time she was cast away; and their Lordships having,

by their order of the 20th of last month, directed us to report what can be done for his relief, we desire you will acquaint their Lordships that the Maidstone's prize list, when she took the prize on the 5th of June, 1747, having been received the 11th instant, we have caused the same to be examined by the last muster-book sent hither, ending the 20th of February, 1746, in which thirty-five men are omitted who are borne upon the said muster-book, some of whom are petty officers, and several differ in their qualifications, and forty-two are inserted in the list who are not in the muster-book, which list being so imperfect, we are not authorized by his Majesty's declaration of the 29th of March, 1744, to certify to the said list, and therefore, by the rules of this office, we can give him no relief."

Keppel, in answer to the Navy Board, admits that the prize lists differ from the monthly books of February; also that there are fewer of the crew mentioned, and many more added, and that many others are disqualified; and adds, "But the Navy Board surely must know that many alterations may be made in the space between February and June, such as leaving people sick ashore, exchanging men, and others deserting his Majesty's service, and likewise many prest men might be entered in that time, which, as well as I can remember, is the state of my affairs. As to the disqualifications—that happens every cruise, having always more gentlemen on the quarter-deck, as midshipmen, than can be rated at a time. The prize-list was given to the agents before the ship was lost; therefore the Navy Board can't imagine I have formed

it out of my own (head). It will be very hard if I am to suffer in this affair, also from the loss of my ship, which was no inconsiderable loss of itself.

"I hope their Lordships will consider it, and I trust to their Lordships' decision.

"I am, Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."*

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Portsmouth, Dec. 23rd, 1747.

"MY LORD,—Yesterday being the first day of my being at ease from the court-martial, I attacked Mr. Stuart about manning me: he could not say how I was to be manned. I then proposed to him the Suffolk's men that are tumbling down here, and ordered to no ship, to which he said he had no orders about them, so that these men don't know what is to become of themselves, which makes me hope that I may get completed with them. This, I own, is being very troublesome to your Lordship, but you are sensible of the nature of my solicitations, and I hope you will direct the Admiral† about them.

"I hear this town is to have for its member Sir Edward Hawke, and the bells were very troublesome all yesterday on that account.

"We meet to-day to consult about the breechings of the great guns. Many things will be mentioned in the ordnance way now we are about it. We are

* The application was unsuccessful.

† Stuart.

likewise to meet, some day or other, about the forms of courts-martial; for my part I know nothing of it, nor have I anything to propose, unless one could make them shorter.* As to ship courts-martial, which I am told will be proposed, I hope never to see, from reasons your Lordship gave me, and many others that have occurred to me since.

"I think the rank is fixed;† but we none of us here know in what manner, nor what determination you are come to about the uniform of the petty officers. "I am, my Lord, with respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

Early in January, the Anson put to sea, with Admiral Hawke in the Kent, accompanied by the Cullo-

* Sir Peter Warren, in a letter to Anson, says, "I am very glad to hear there is a scheme on foot to shorten the proceedings of courts-martial. I think it may be done without altering the old practice, if the forms of carrying on any trial shall be agreed to by the court, and the number of evidence limited previous to any examination."—Anson MSS., No. 479.

† "It will be very agreeable to our force," observes Warren, in another letter to Anson, "to find his Grace the Duke of Bedford has carried his point for rank, against the opposition it met." Sir John Barrow says, that "Anson had this point settled."—(Barrow's Life of Anson, p. 193.) But, by Warren's letter, it would appear that this question was decided by the Duke of Bedford. Sir John also mentions that the order in council was dated "the 10th February, 1747." He probably forgot that these dates are in the old style, and that, in point of fact, the order was not made out until the 10th February, 1748. This order, which continues in force to the present times, establishes that Admirals, Commanders-in-Chief, should rank with Field Marshals; Admirals with their flag at the main-top-mast head, with Generals; Vice-Admirals, with Lieutenant-Generals; Rear-Admirals, with Major-Generals; Commodores, with Brigadier-Generals; Captains, of three years' standing, with Colonels; younger Captains, with Lieutenant-Colonels; Commanders, with Majors; and Lieutenants, with Captains.

den, Centurion, and Tavistock. They were to call at Plymouth for five other ships of the line, and four frigates, which were to compose the fleet. The next letter was written previous to their departure:—

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Spithead, Jan. 8th, 1747-8.

"My Lord,—We are now in a great hurry for sailing, and I, in a sad pickle, with my whole ship's company drunk,—not a man quartered or watched; but as I can't meet a ship of force till below Plymouth, I am not very uneasy about it. The reason of this confusion is from my Suffolk's men being paid their wages yesterday; in general, for the number I have of them, good men, which I am to return a million thanks to you for securing them for me; my poor drowned Maidstones were very low-spirited about their not being paid theirs: I pacified them as well as I could, and promised them faithfully that it was your Board's intention that they should be paid when we clean next: I hope this will be performed agreeably to my promise; if not, they will not take my word again, nor keep theirs with me: if they had not been used to me, I should have had much more trouble with them.

"The Anson makes a good appearance, and I hope will answer. I was afraid of carrying my ports too high, so took in ballast to three hundred ton, so that I have brought her midship-port to five foot and a half. We are now twenty inches by the stern, but she cannot sail at that difference, and how she is come so much by the stern is surprising, as we have been

endeavouring by the stowage and ballast to go out about six inches only by the stern.

"I troubled you in my last letter to bear supernumeraries as I might pick them up, and without authority I shall not be able to pass my accounts hereafter if I have not such an order; therefore I must beg of your Lordship to get me one, and dated a few days back; it cannot come here time enough, but it may to Plymouth, where I am sure of finding it. Your Lordship, perhaps, thinks by this caution that I have more than my complement, and to you I will own I have seven or eight more, which I am obliged to hide, as it is Mr. Stuart's order not to carry any out. I shall be broke some time or another for it, but he wont find me out this time, I believe.

"Your goodness to me in manning me so well has put me in great spirits, with the satisfaction, at the same time, of saying that I am a sound man. A little time and discipline will do all that I want for my ship, and then for what you please; but I hope to be doing something as soon as we get out. I am near five weeks off the ground.

"Sir Edward Hawke is extremely civil to me, and I hope he will do well, and please everybody.

"I have been solicited by one or two gentlemen that I have a great regard for, or should not trouble your Lordship, to get one Mr. George Fennell, who is clerk on board the Salisbury, and nephew to one of these gentlemen, to be made a purser, which makes me take the liberty to beg your Lordship to think of him, when it is convenient to you, which will increase

the many, many obligations I am under to your Lordship, and have no other way of repaying them but by doing my duty, and endeavouring to be of no discredit to my patron.

"The great hurry I am in makes me almost ashamed of sending you such a scrawl, and full of interlining.

"I shall trouble your Lordship with a letter by all the opportunities I have; and am, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

From a note in Anson's handwriting, it appears that the application in favour of Mr. Fennell was immediately complied with.

The next letter is dated Lisbon, April 12th, O.S., 1748:—

"MY LORD,—I am sorry I have nothing but empty and troublesome lines to write your Lordship; but the fruits of a twelve weeks' cruise will afford no better.

"Fortune has been kind to the Spaniards, and not so to the squadron the Anson has been in. Mr. Cotes* and his squadron have seen that which might have made us all happy, had we been lucky enough to have joined; but bad fortune always attends the

* Captain Cotes, in the Edinburgh, of 70 guns, with three other ships of the line and one frigate, fell in, on the 7th of March, with a Spanish fleet of nine sail of the line, having under their convoy twenty-seven merchant ships. Although unable to attack so superior a force, he succeeded in capturing five of the convoy.

squadron I am in: I am its evil genius. If care and fatigue could have procured us a sight of these Spaniards, we, of Sir Edward Hawke's division, I think, have deserved it; but, instead of seeing even one sail of the enemy, we have had but nine sights of any ships whatever, which made nine chases in twelve weeks, all which we spoke to, but they were not of the nation we were in search of.

"We have left the Yarmouth* and Defiance† at sea; I hope they will be attended with a homeward-bound galleon. The Kent‡ and Tavistock§ are very sickly; the latter extremely so. The Anson has been very healthy, and has buried but three men, but has now a few sick. The two ships we left out are prodigiously healthy, and the Defiance flies, and so will the Tavistock when she is clean. What the Anson will do, I cannot as yet say; but she is far from being a bad sailer, and has no bad quality but that of staying very badly; she wants two or three foot more lower masts and larger rigging to it; as the mainmast is much sprung, more length may be easily given to my new mainmast, if Slade at Plymouth had power to do it. Cotes sailed two days ago with the Eagle,‖ Windsor,¶ and Louisa.** Rodney is very well, and in his usual good spirits.

"The packet arrived here the day before yesterday, and the newspapers inform us of your Lordship's

* Captain Charles Saunders. † Captain John Bentley.
‡ Captain Francis Holburne, with the flag of Sir Edward Hawke.
§ Captain Justinian Nutt. ‖ Captain Geo. Rodney.
¶ Captain T. Hanway. ** Captain Charles Watson.

marriage, which I beg leave to congratulate you upon, and wish you may speedily have a son and heir.*

"I find we have lost the Duke of Bedford,† who now is Secretary of State. I wish our new head may be as zealous, and support us as his Grace has done. I have not the honour of knowing my Lord Sandwich‡ so well as the Duke of Bedford, but whilst I have the happiness to behave myself deserving your Lordship's protection I want no other.

"I had like to have forgot giving you joy of the Magnanime. I hope Harland has behaved equal to the good opinion you had of him. I am much deceived if he has not.

"For news maritime I know none; if there is any, I reckon you will hear it from Sir Edward Hawke; and so conclude, and am, with the greatest respect,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

* Keppel's congratulations were somewhat premature: Lord Anson married, on the *25th of April*, Lady Elizabeth Yorke, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Hardwicke.

† The Duke of Bedford always entertained the highest opinion of Captain Keppel, and attended closely to his professional advancement. He was greatly esteemed by the navy. "His retirement from the Admiralty," says Wyffen, "was solaced by the expressions of regret which he received from the most eminent naval officers and governors on distant stations. He approved himself, throughout his presidency at that board, a diligent inquirer into, and patron of, rising or unnoticed merit; and amongst the many junior captains of this class, whose early deserts he had the discrimination to perceive, whose efforts and ambition he encouraged and rewarded, and who afterwards, at the head of their profession, bore the British name 'in thunders round the world,' were Lord Keppel, Lord Howe, and the celebrated Rodney."—Memoirs of the House of Russell, vol. ii. p. 357.

‡ First Lord of the Admiralty, from 1771 to 1782, when he was succeeded in his post by Keppel.

The Magnanime, to which Keppel alludes, was captured by Captain (afterwards Sir Robert) Harland, in the Nottingham, of sixty guns, and by Captain Stevens, in the Portland, of fifty guns. The Magnanime carried seventy-four guns, and six hundred and eighty-six men. The Nottingham commenced the action about an hour before the Portland could get to her assistance. After a smart engagement, which lasted for nearly six hours, the Magnanime was compelled to strike, having fifty men killed, and one hundred and five wounded. The sea ran so high as to prevent either party from opening their lower ports. The Magnanime was purchased by government, and became Lord Howe's favourite ship during "the seven years' war."

On the 9th of May, Keppel received an official circular, announcing the proclamation of peace between England and France, but directing him "to continue hostilities against Spain till further orders."

Towards the end of the same month, he was ordered to take the Nottingham under his orders, and proceed to Madeira. His letter-book affords no information respecting the service on which he was there employed.

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Anson, at Sea, Aug. 4th, 1748.

"My Lord,—I hope by the time your Lordship receives this, I shall have reached near Portsmouth. I have at last got into the Channel, after a long seven months' cruise, and a very unsuccessful one. However, it has been made up to me in some measure by

good health, as well to my whole ship's company as myself. I was on my way to Lisbon, in obedience to Sir Peter Warren's orders, when I met Captain Arbuthnot* in the Feyton, who gave me a copy of the cessation of arms with Spain, and a copy of his own orders; which latter (directing all the western squadron in, and to particular ports, which, by the order, they are directed forthwith to repair to,) I thought it my duty strictly to comply with, leaving the remainder of Sir Peter's orders unexecuted, which I hope your Lordship will approve of. I am sure it was more my interest to proceed to Lisbon, and have brought hence a freight home, but that I was not to consider. I imagine Captain Arbuthnot will find that both Sir Peter Warren and Sir Edward Hawke are gone for England. I recommended it to Captain Arbuthnot to call at Madeira for a few hours, where he most probably would hear of Sir Peter, and likely find the remainder of his fleet watering them for their passage home, as it is so near Palma.

"Captain Harland, in the Nottingham, is very short of water, which is the reason of my sending him on before me, to get into the first port he can, and then to proceed without loss of time to Portsmouth.

"In my cruise I met with the Ilchester, India ship, bound to Lisbon for convoy: poor Captain Fowles,

* Captain Marriot Arbuthnot was the nephew of the celebrated Dr. Arbuthnot, the friend of Swift, Garth, and Pope, and one of the great wits of that age. Captain Arbuthnot served under Keppel in 1755, on the North American station. He was one of the members of his court-martial in 1779.

who commanded the Anson, India ship, was a passenger. He was taken by the Apollo and Anglesea close to his port, but was lucky enough to get the Company's treasure landed. I find by him Mr. Griffin cannot agree with any of his captains; but I suppose you have heard of that before. I am very sorry for it, as it must be some obstruction to success; but the war is at an end, and I don't suppose he will see another.

"I have brought your Lordship home a pipe of Madeira. I shall be glad if you would tell Adair what I shall do with it, who must write to me about his own. I shall attend your Lordship's commands at Portsmouth, and am, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

As war was now at an end, a considerable reduction was to be made in the number of ships employed. The Anson was destined to become a guard-ship. Lord Anson, however, deeming that such a life would ill accord with the activity of Keppel, determined, with his usual kindness and consideration, to remove him to a sea-going ship. His Lordship was assisted in the arrangement by Captain Nutt, formerly master of the Centurion, and now in command of the Tavistock, a fifty-gun ship. As active employment in time of peace was no object to Captain Nutt, Lord Anson, who had given him his post rank, persuaded him to exchange ships with Keppel.

The kindness on the part of Lord Anson is thus acknowledged by his "grateful pupil"* :—

* Keppel is so called in a letter from Mr. Thomas Anson to Lord Anson.—Anson's MS. Letters.

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Portsmouth, Aug. 21st, 1748.

"My Lord,—Mr. Clevland has been so good as to inform me of your Lordship's kind intentions to me, for which I cannot sufficiently own my obligations. I was sorry to hear your Lordship was set out for Staffordshire, as I had hoped to find you in London. I am preparing the Anson for the reception of Captain Nutt, who, I fear, will not be here for a great while. The Kent, Intrepid, and Frederick have come in from Lisbon, where the Tavistock was to stop for a few days, but was not arrived when the Kent sailed. I fear there will be difficulty in manning her, by what I see here in manning Captain Jasper for Guinea; but as your Lordship is so good as to allow me to take my own people, I hope that will help out, for all the north-countrymen who are on board the Tavistock will desert the service; this I judge from knowing that those already that could get from her have deserted. I do not know what number of the Anson's will be volunteers, for all seamen at present seem to have an aversion to a man of war.

"As your Lordship has settled everything so extremely well, I am afraid it will seem in me to be of a discontented temper, to think of any alteration. I only mean in respect to the ship herself: had there been no ship settled, I own I should not have been a minute in hesitating in my choice in favour of the little Centurion, who is now no more than a fifty gun ship. The air of the ship, and the conveniences for a hot country, are so extremely better than the other, that they are not to be named together; but

perhaps this alteration would interfere with the whole; therefore whatever your Lordship thinks proper will be the greatest satisfaction to me.

"I have had a letter from Adair; he talks of coming to Goodwood. I think I cannot pass by Goodwood myself without going in, and propose meeting him there.

I understand your Lordship don't propose being in town before the middle of the next month, so that I don't know how much business I shall have there; only as the long cruises I have had may have filled my blood full of salt, if it is not disagreeable, I should be glad my first lieutenant might carry the ship round, that I may recruit a little in the country. I will not trouble you with a longer epistle, and am, with great respect,

"Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

Keppel, at the same time, appears to have acquainted his friend Mr. Clevland with his wishes, for on the 23rd of August, that gentleman writes to Anson, "Captains Keppel and Mostyn are extremely sensible of your Lordship's favour to them. The former only wishes that the choice of the fifty-gun ship had fallen on the Centurion instead of the Tavistock, because she would be so much preferable to any other in a hot climate. I ventured to say as much to Lord Vere, who immediately came into the alteration, and to the appointing of Lieut. Foley his third lieutenant, instead of the one now in the Anson, which I hope will meet with your Lordship's approbation, or I shall be sorry I have gone so far."*

* Anson MSS.

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Anson, in Portsmouth Harbour, Aug. 25th, 1748.

"My Lord,—I conclude Mr. Clevland has acquainted your Lordship that he has got the exchange of ships settled for the little Centurion, and I only wait for my commission to equip her for Sheerness. My people are somewhat troublesome; but as I think I know the temper of seamen, I am in hopes it will go no further, and fancy it was only to try me. Your Lordship has left everything so well settled for me, that all I ask is granted; still I hope your Lordship will be in London soon, that I may have the honour to attend you.

"Your Lordship accuses me of always wanting something to be done, in all my letters to you; I fear there is something in it, but I hope what I am now going to ask will be the last I shall trouble your Lordship about, as I think you have left me nothing to ask for myself, from your great goodness to me. I am informed that Mr. Brett, master-attendant at Chatham, is to be superannuated; if so, I should be extremely obliged to your Lordship that Mr. John Towers, master-attendant of this yard, may succeed him. It will be a great conveniency and comfort to him, as he then will be near all his relations. He is so good a man, that I am sure I shall have no reason to be ashamed of my recommendation. I think there is no difference in the pay of the two yards, and Mr. Towers's partner here, Mr. Collinwood, I am told, does not apply for it.

"I hope Lady Anson enjoys her health in the

country, and your brother, who I beg will accept of my respects, and am, my Lord, with great respect,

" Your Lordship's

" Most obedient servant,

" A. KEPPEL."

On the 30th of August, Mr. Clevland writes to Lord Anson, " Captain Keppel and all his officers have received their commissions for the Centurion, and he proposes to bring her soon round to the Nore."*

Keppel was highly gratified by this appointment. The Centurion had not only become celebrated from her voyage round the world, but was also considered a " crack man of war." After her return with Anson, she underwent a thorough repair; the number of her guns was reduced from sixty to fifty, and the command of her given to Captain Denis, her late first lieutenant. An entertaining writer in the *United Service Journal* says, " Owing to tumble-home sides, her main deck was very narrow, and her extreme breadth was only 40 feet, to a length of 144; her burthen was 1000 tons; but her bows were so lean, that she was rather lively in a head sea."† Keppel thought so highly of her, that he had a beautiful model of her made at Portsmouth dockyard, which still graces the hall of the house he formerly possessed in Suffolk.

* Anson MSS. † United Service Journal for Dec. 1841, p. 447.

CHAPTER V.

EMBASSY TO THE STATES OF BARBARY.

Remarks on the piratical States of Barbary—An English packet-boat plundered—Keppel appointed Ambassador to the States of Barbary, and Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean—Adam (afterwards Viscount) Duncan—Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joshua Reynolds—His celebrated picture of Keppel—Case of Mr. Latton—Keppel arrives at Tetuan—Keppel's letter to Lord Anson—Keppel's instructions—Mediterranean passes—Arrival of the squadron at Algiers—Anecdote of the Commodore—Correspondence between Keppel and the Dey of Algiers—Keppel's remonstrance with the Dey, and the result—A renegado—Correspondence—The Dey's letter to George the Second.

1749 TO 1750.

WHILE the war was raging in Christendom, the Mahometans of Barbary had profited by the occasion to commit numerous acts of piracy upon the ships of European nations trading to the Mediterranean. With the exception of France and Tuscany, all the states upon the confines of that sea were at perpetual war with these predatory republics; and being unable, in consequence, to transport merchandise in their own vessels, were obliged to employ those of other countries not subject to the like dangers with themselves. To enjoy the petty advantage of the carrying trade thus afforded, the maritime powers of Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and—to her shame be it spoken—England, condescended to seek the alliance of these robbers, to solicit their passes, and by costly gifts to purchase their forbearance.

Smollett is very properly indignant at this flagrant departure from the principles of public justice and sound policy; and suggests the course that nearly seventy years afterwards was adopted towards one of the states: to "destroy all their ships, lay their towns in ashes, and totally extirpate those pernicious broods of desperate banditti." "Even," says he, "all the condescension of those who disgrace themselves with the title of allies to these miscreants is not always sufficient to restrain them from acts of cruelty and rapine." "At this very period, (1748,) four cruisers from Algiers made a capture of an English packet-boat, in her voyage from Lisbon, and conveyed her to their city; where she was plundered of money and effects, to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, and afterwards dismissed."*

The English ministers were so far roused by this violation of the treaty, as to resolve upon demanding reparation for the outrage, and of sending a squadron with their ambassador, to give effect to his remonstrance. The individual thus armed for peace or war was Captain Keppel; who, although he had not attained his twenty-fourth year, was deemed a competent person for this difficult trust,—so high an opinion was, even at that time, formed of his ability, firmness, and judgment.

On the 25th of January, 1749,† Keppel received the notification that he was to be entrusted with a diplomatic mission to the States of Barbary, and to be

* History of England, vol. iii. p. 273.

† In Keppel's letter-book, the dates in January and February are 1748; the year not commencing, according to the old or Julian style, until the 25th of March. The calendar was altered in England in 1752.

appointed to the chief command in the Mediterranean, with the rank of Commodore.

Among the midshipmen who now joined the Centurion, was Adam Duncan, so distinguished in after times as the gallant Lord and Admiral of that name. Duncan may be truly said to have received his professional education in Keppel's school, having served under him in the several ranks of midshipman; third, second, and first lieutenant; flag and post captain;—indeed, with the exception of a short time with Captain Barrington, he had no other commander during the "seven years' war."

Duncan was destined, in after life, to sit as one of the judges upon his early friend; and, it is generally supposed, that the joy manifested by him at Keppel's honourable acquittal, caused his exclusion from employment for so many years. Keppel, who was strongly attached to Duncan, and had the highest opinion of him as an officer, did not live to see realized the expectations he had formed. He had been dead eleven years, when the splendid victory off Camperdown proved that the master had formed no erroneous estimate of the merits of the pupil.*

* From the time that Keppel quitted office, in 1783, till 1795, Duncan remained unemployed. He had risen in the interval from the rank of captain to that of full admiral. Lord Spencer had just become first Lord when, in going over the list of admirals with the late Lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, Lord S. said,—"What can be the reason that '*Keppel's* Duncan' has never been brought forward?" Upon this, Mr. Dundas said, that he thought he would like it; and added, what was perhaps more to the purpose, he had married his niece. The same night he was appointed commander-in-chief in the North Sea. (This circumstance was communicated to the writer by Lord Duncan's daughter, Lady Jane Hamilton.) It was while he was in this command that the spirit of insubordination, so universal in the navy, at length found its way to the Venerable, the ship on board which his flag was flying. Upon being informed of the circumstance, he turned up the hands, and declared

The Commodore left Spithead in company with the Lyme, on the 25th of April; but the Centurion springing both her topmasts, he was obliged to put in at Plymouth, for repairs. He availed himself of this detention to visit his friend Lord Mount Edgcumbe, at his beautiful seat in the neighbourhood of that port. Here he first became acquainted with Mr. (afterwards Sir Joshua) Reynolds; at that time not known as a painter beyond the precincts of his native town. Keppel was so much pleased with the demeanour of the young artist, that he offered him a passage on board the Centurion. The invitation was gratefully accepted, and "his voyage was made very agreeable to him by the attentions of the Commodore; who treated him with the utmost kindness, and gratified his curiosity at every place where the ship touched, whenever an opportunity was afforded."*

that he would put to death, with his own hand, the first man who shewed any symptom of rebellion. Turning round to one of the mutineers—"Do you, sir," said he, "want to take the command of this ship out of my hands?" "Yes, sir," was the reply. The Admiral proceeded to put his threat in execution; when his arm was arrested by his chaplain and secretary. He did not repeat the attempt; but called out—"Let those who will stand by the officers and me, pass over to starboard." The whole crew obeyed, with the exception of the six ringleaders; these he put in irons, but afterwards pardoned.

In the action off Camperdown "eleven ships of war were captured by ten ships of the British squadron; as not more than that number were seriously engaged. More was accomplished, in proportion to the *means*, than in any naval engagement of modern times. Nelson, although not acquainted with Lord Duncan, after the battle of the Nile, wrote to tell him how he 'had profited by his example.'"—(Ekins' Battles, pp. 234, 235.)

* Beechy's Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, vol. i. p. 55.

Northcote speaks of Keppel, as the "earliest and most firm friend Sir Joshua ever had." After mentioning Lord Mount Edgcumbe's introduction of Reynolds to the Commodore, he says,—"This officer, (Kep-

Although genius such as Reynolds possessed, would probably not long have remained undiscovered, yet Keppel is so far identified with the success of the great painter, that it was he who first afforded him access to the works of the Italian masters; and it was his portrait which first brought him into public notice.

"He," (Reynolds) says Cunningham, "next painted his patron, Commodore Keppel, and produced a work of such truth and nobleness, that it fixed universal attention. This gallant seaman, in pursuing a privateer, ran his ship aground on the coast of France, and was made prisoner, in the midst of his exertions to save the crew from destruction. He was released from prison, and acquitted of all blame, by a court-martial. The portrait represents him just escaped from the shipwreck. The artist deviated from the formal style of his rivals, and deviated into excellence: the spirit of a higher species of art is visible in this performance; yet the likeness was reckoned perfect."

"With this picture," says Farington, "he took great pains; for it was observed at the time, that, after several sittings, he defaced his work, and began it again. But his labour was not lost: that excellent

pel), not having been paid off at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, was now about to be employed on a service, in which all the characteristic qualities of his mind were, for the first time, eminently called forth. He had, indeed, long distinguished himself, as well by his spirited activity as by his agreeable and accommodating manners; and at the same time, although still a very young man, displaying the greatest firmness when either his own or his country's honour was at hazard."—Northcote's Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, p. 18.

production was so much admired, that it completely established the reputation of the artist. Its dignity and spirit, its beauty of colour, and general effect, occasioned equal surprise and pleasure. The public, hitherto accustomed to see only the formal, tame representations, which reduced all persons to the same standard of unmeaning insipidity, were captivated with this display of animated character; and the report of its attraction was soon widely circulated." *

The Commodore resumed his voyage on the 11th of May, and on the 24th arrived at Lisbon. Here he remained a week, and then proceeded to Cadiz, which he reached on the 8th of June.

Keppel's letter-book gives us no information of the manner in which he spent his time at this place; but the deficiency is supplied by a letter, which Reynolds afterwards wrote from Rome to Lord Mount Edgecumbe:

"I am now, thanks to your Lordship, at the height of my wishes,—in the midst of the greatest works of art that the world has produced. I had a very long passage, though a pleasant one. I am at last in Rome; having seen many places and sights which I never thought of seeing. I have been at Lisbon, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Algiers, and Mahon. The Commodore stayed at Lisbon a week, in which time there happened to be two of the greatest sights that could be seen, had he stayed there a whole year: a bull-feast,

* Beechey's Life of Reynolds, vol. i. pp. 119, 120. The picture is at Lord Albemarle's house, in Berkeley-square. For an engraving of it, see the frontispiece of this volume.

and the procession of *Corpus Christi*. Your Lordship will excuse me, if I say, that, from the kind treatment and great civilities I have received from the Commodore, I fear I have laid your Lordship under obligations to him on my account; since from nothing but your Lordship's recommendation, I could possibly expect to meet with that polite behaviour with which I have always been treated. I had the use of his cabin, and his study of books, as if they had been my own; and when he went on shore, he generally took me with him: so that I not only had an opportunity of seeing a great deal, but I saw it with all the advantages, as if I had travelled as his equal. At Cadiz I saw another bull-feast."

But from Cadiz the Commodore was suddenly called away. A Mr. Latton had been sent out consul, or, as Smollett calls him, "ambassador,"* to Tetuan, to redeem some English subjects from slavery; but, in consequence of the non-payment of some ransom money, the Moorish governor of the town, with a truly Mahometan disregard of the law of nations, made the representative of England a prisoner in his own house. Several British captives were, at the same time, thrown into a dungeon; and four fishermen, under the protection of the British cannon at Gibraltar, were carried captives into Tetuan.

The Commodore had no instructions relating to the State of Morocco; but, thinking that the appearance of a British squadron might assist Mr. Latton in his difficulties, he sailed immediately for Tetuan, and arrived in the bay on the 13th of June.

* History of England, vol. iii. p. 274.

Mr. Latton had received his instructions from the Duke of Bedford, "to obtain the immediate release of all His Majesty's subjects, captives in Barbary, both British and German, upon the most moderate and equitable terms." But, at the same time, "to be particularly careful not to engage the repayment of any sums formerly advanced by Mr. Sollicoffee,"* (a former agent.)

The claim for compensation for captives taken during peace seems extraordinary enough; but as our Government, by purchasing the redemption of British subjects so captured, tacitly recognised the claim, this debt was as just as any one of the like nature could be; and of this opinion was Muley Abdallah, the Emperor of Morocco, who, in a letter to the Alcayde, respecting Mr. Latton, thus concludes:—"And you, Hagee Mahomet Termeein, all you have to say to him are two words—'Pay us the redemption money, and then we shall treat for these people.'" †

In conformity with his instructions, Mr. Latton released twenty-two captives; but upon his informing the Alcayde that he could not engage for the repayment of the old debt, he was told that the slaves would be sent back, and that he would be compelled to pay the accumulated interest of 12,600*l.*, due since the year 1735. Thus urged, he entered into a bond for the whole sum, and procured a portion of the redemption-money from Mr. Tierney, a merchant of

* Extracts from a letter from the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Latton.—(Keppel's papers.)

† The Emperor of Morocco's letter to the Alcayde of Tetuan, sent to the Duke of Newcastle.

Gibraltar, to whom he gave bills on the Treasury. Into this Mr. Tierney's hands Government paid 4,399*l.*; but, as they did not answer Mr. Latton's first bills upon them, Mr. Tierney refused to give up the money until he was repaid the first sum advanced. The consequence was, that the Emperor, losing sight of Mr. Latton as ambassador, and considering him only as his guarantee, seized upon him in the manner already described.

A few extracts from Mr. Latton's letters to the Commodore, will shew the treatment to which the British representative was subjected:—

"..... I am ready to do all that lies in my power, and to lay myself under any obligation, (rather than the money should not be paid), to bring things to a conclusion; as I dread what will be the issue, if not speedily done. I am a prisoner myself; already beset with guards all round my house; the keys of my doors taken from me, lest I should escape; so that the happiness of waiting on you, so as to have a conference with you, is out of my reach."

"..... Permit me to desire, that whoever you appoint to wait upon the Alcayde, may know the truth from him, if possible, whether he has any orders to touch our colours; and that the slaves may not be kept in the dungeon, as they must stink alive, and have a distemper among them, this hot weather."

"..... Nothing can give me more vexation than that I did not get my uncle, Lieutenant-general Johnson, to recommend me to you, through the means of your noble father, whom I am perfectly known to, having received his Lordship's countenance these many

years; but I am inclined to hope, that, notwithstanding, I may find in you a friend to espouse my cause."

"..... The Alcayde himself is not only in danger from the Emperor, but likewise from all the inhabitants, who lay all the fault upon him, of bringing them into this dilemma; and if a speedy conclusion is not put to their present demand, the event must be in every way fatal to them, and much more to me, and to every British subject here."*

"..... The porters who look after our slaves have threatened to cleave their skulls; and I am vilified by my own porters with most horrid imprecations."

On the 17th of June, the Commodore received the instructions he had been expecting from the Admiralty, relative to Algiers, and was consequently unable to remain any longer at Tetuan. Before he sailed, he wrote the following letters to the Secretary of the Admiralty and to Lord Anson:

TO JOHN CLEVLAND, ESQ.

"Centurion, in Tetuan Bay,
18th June, 1749.

"SIR,—Since I wrote to you from Gibraltar, acquainting their lordships of my being there, I have been over to Tetuan, in hopes of obtaining the liberty of four fishermen, belonging to the garrison of Gibraltar, who were taken by a Tetuan cruiser, and of regulating the disorders between Mr. Latton and the Alcayde of that place. I enclose here a copy of a letter from the Alcayde to me, and one from Mr. Latton. I really believe myself, that what the Alcayde has done he has been forced to do by the

* Keppel's papers.

town's-people; so that I did not think his word security enough for me to go on shore. They are daily in fear of the Emperor's sending his army down to cut them all off, for want of the payment of the 4,399*l.*, which the Alcayde informed the Emperor he had received from Mr. Latton, not doubting, as it was owned to be a just debt, but that Mr. Latton, who engaged himself to pay it in a few days, would be able to perform his promise; instead of which, there is some time passed since.

"Mr. Latton is without either money or credit, and the Alcayde acquaints me, by my lieutenant, who I sent to him, that if the Emperor should send for the money, and find he has been deceived, he expects no less than the loss of his head, and the destruction of every living soul.

"I am inclined to think that Mr. Latton has not been over regular in informing the Duke of Bedford of the releasement and cost of those people that he has redeemed.

"I must confess to their Lordships, that I am greatly at a loss how to act. On the one side, to hear that Mr. Latton's bills are not answered; and on the other, to find that he, with so many more of His Majesty's subjects, arein the possession, and at the mercy of the Moors. Except himself and four more, they are all confined under ground. He has actually bound himself to pay this sum, and likewise another sum of 8,200*l.*; but the latter he is not pressed for, being allowed time for an answer from England.

"My being obliged to leave this place, to follow their Lordships' immediate directions, made me so ap-

prehensive of the consequences to His Majesty's subjects in their custody, if this 4,399*l.* be not paid immediately, that, with the opinions of the captains here, I have sent Captain Fermor over with a letter to Mr. Tierney, to desire he would advance the money, which is the cause of the present disturbance. This however, will only occasion the people being better treated, and not confined in a dungeon. The four fishermen belonging to Gibraltar, too, will not be released; for, till the other sums that Mr. Latton is bound for are paid, neither himself nor any other man will be free.

"I am, &c.,

"A. KEPPEL."

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Centurion, Tetuan Bay, June 18, 1749.

MY DEAR LORD,—I wrote your Lordship my sentiments concerning the Algerines, from Lisbon, which I hope agree with yours; but the people will soon be put to the trial. All the ships have joined but the Assurance, Captain Daniel; but as Proby* can be spared, I propose taking him with me; and, if the Assurance does not arrive in a day or two, to make the best of my way, and put their lordships' orders in execution to the utmost of my abilities.

"I cannot close my letter without mentioning to your Lordship the situation of Mr. Latton, who is consul

* Captain of the Lyme. He afterwards commanded the Thunderer; and in 1761 greatly distinguished himself in the capture of the Achilles, a French ship of sixty-four guns.

(ambassador he calls himself) to the Moors. I shall not say more to your Lordship than that I have been troubled beyond measure by him. The poor man is in very great fear for himself and the English subjects who are in the Moor's possession. I don't wonder at it. The money they must have, one time or other; for even had we Mr. Latton and all the English out of their hands, they would make war against us. They would always be getting something, and we never getting anything from them. The peace they would never make without this sum (which they insist upon as a just debt) being paid. In short, they are strange people to deal with. I have ventured to write to Gibraltar, for one sum that Mr. Latton is bound for; nor do I see how I could do otherwise, lest the inhuman revenge of the Emperor should fall upon him and his Majesty's subjects in their clutches.

"I must beg you to be so good as to observe my letter to the Board, with those I send of Mr. Latton's to me. Perhaps their impertinence will be taken as an affront offered to his Majesty. It is true it is so, and they deserve to be chastised for it; but sha'n't we be the losers, as I said before, by attempting it?

"There is now a Dutch man of war of forty guns here, treating about a peace with these people, and with very considerable presents in case of obtaining it. Obtain it, they certainly will, if we quarrel with them, probably they may without; but it makes a difference.

"I received Mr. Stephens' letter, and your Lordship's commission shall be taken care of. I did speak, when at Cadiz, to Mr. Colebrooke about it.

"I have wrote to my Lord Sandwich by this opportunity, who, with your Lordship, I am greatly obliged to for your intrusting me with this command. It may go off easily; I hope it will; but it may not. However, I shall act to the best of my judgment, jointly with Mr. Stanyford.*

I am come out of England without a power to make officers, which I imagined their lordships intended me, as it is usual in such a command; but that I trust to your Lordship, and rest contented with whatever you think proper.

I received an order from the Board, concerning the reducing of the ships' complements, from a 60-gun ship down to a sloop; a 60-gun, 380 men, a 50-gun, 280. I have wrote to Mr. Clevland about the Centurion, as she is neither a 60 nor 50, and always had a different complement from a 50. At present we are 350, and I hope their lordships mean her to remain so, as she is between a 60 and 50 gun ship.

I expected, my Lord, from the opinion you had of the bottom of the Seahorse, to have seen a fine sailer; instead of which, she has no chance in the world with the Centurion, much less with the Lyme.

If you have any further orders for me, I hope you will command one, who ever will be, with the greatest respect,

"Your Lordship's

"Most devoted and humble servant,

A. KEPPEL.

"P.S.—I beg my humble respects to Lady Anson."

* British Consul at Algiers.

The Commodore succeeded in having the slaves removed out of the subterranean dungeon into some more comfortable place of confinement. In answer to a letter from them, expressive of their great gratitude at this partial deliverance, he thus writes to Mr. Latton :—" I thank the poor English for their civil letter. I wish I had them on board the Centurion, to shew them how much I love an English subject and sailor."

After considerable delay, the dispute between Mr. Latton and the Emperor of Morocco was, by the Commodore's representations to the Government, referred to the Governor of Gibraltar, General Bland, and the matter was finally settled by the English Government consenting to pay the whole demand.

Keppel's first instructions, with regard to Algiers, were as follow :

" *By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, and Ireland, &c.*

" Whereas you will receive herewith a pacquet from His Grace the Duke of Bedford, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State, to Mr. Stanyford, consul of Algiers, who has informed His Grace, in his letter of the 31st of March last, that four ships of that place had brought in there an English pacquet-boat, called the Prince Frederick, which was employed between Lisbon and England, and whose captain had a commission from us, on pretence of her not being furnished with a Mediterranean pass ; and notwithstanding all his representations to the contrary, the Dey has confiscated the effects on board her, amounting to a very considerable value.* And whereas, we have ordered the ships named in the margin,

* It appears by Captain Willeston's journal, that there were forty-one parcels of silver, 70 of gold, and two of diamonds ; the amount of the whole, as valued by the bills of lading, being 82,790 mibrees, 800 reis ; equal, according to Smollett, to £100,000.

(namely, the Assurance, Rose, Triton, Fly, Tryal, and Guarland) to proceed forthwith, and join you at Gibraltar, in order to procure a restitution of the effects afore-mentioned, you are hereby required and directed to proceed forthwith with your whole squadron to Algiers, where you are to send on shore the pacquet which contains His Majesty's instructions to Mr. Stanyford how to proceed in this matter. And you are to go on shore to the Dey, to acquaint him that you are sent by His Majesty to claim the restitution of the effects taken in the aforesaid pacquet-boat; and in consequence of his immediate complying with so reasonable a demand, to assure him of the friendship of His Majesty, and to hint that you have, in that case, a valuable present for him; and if upon this, the Dey shall be induced to deliver up the said effects, or the value of them, you are then to send him the presents designed for him, which are now on board the Rose, and to put the pacquet-boat's effects on board the Assurance, and send her with the Fly and Tryal sloops to England.

But in case the Dey should prove refractory, and, upon your demand of the restitution of the said effects, should persist in refusing them, you are then to make use of such menaces as you shall judge most probable to intimidate him, and force him, by that method, to restore them; and if he should still prove inflexible, you are to stretch your squadron along the coast, and to prevent them doing any mischief to the trade of His Majesty's subjects. And you are immediately to dispatch a discreet officer in the Tryal sloop, to acquaint us with your proceedings, and to bring you our further orders with relation thereto; directing him to land at Marseilles, and to make the best of his way to England through France, and the sloop to wait at Marseilles till he returns again thither with our orders.

"Given under our hands the 12th day of May, 1749.

"SANDWICH,
"ANSON,
"BARRINGTON,
"W. ELLIS.

"To the Hon. A. Keppel, Commander-in-Chief of
"H. M. ships and vessels in the Mediterranean."

The nature of the passes alluded to in the foregoing instructions will be best shewn by the Order in

Council, which first authorized their introduction. The Order, which was issued in the reign of Charles the Second, bears date the 23rd November, 1663, and is addressed to the Lord High Admiral and "the Farmers of His Majestie's Customs."

This instrument recites,—

"Whereas, His Majestie was graciously pleased, out of his princely care for the benefit and advantage of his subjects, to send his royall fleete, at a vast expense, to protect their trade in the Mediterranean seas; by the terror whereof those of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly, were brought to conclude a peace; wherein it's particulerly provided, that all ships belonging to His Majestie's subjects shall trade and pass freely, without search or molestation; notwithstanding which, some pirates of Algiers have lately violated that agreement, and done injury to diverse of His Majestie's subjects, for which His Majestie intends speedily to send a fleete, to demand reparation, or to chastise those pirates; but, finding by their last letter to His Majestie, that they colour these rapines with pretence that the shipps belonging to His Majestie's subjects, do trade without passes, whereby they are uncertain which are the shipps of His Majestie's subjects, and which are not; and declare that they will continue to search and detayne those as have no passes. For the prevention of the mischiefs which may ensue before His Majestie's fleete can remedy their abuses, His Majesty doth strictly charge and demand all his loving subjects trading into these parts to take passes from His Royall Highnesse the Lord High Admirall; and it is His Majestie's will and pleasure that you signifie this his command to all who shall make entry of any ship or vessell, before the officers of the customs, for a voyage to the southward."

These instruments were engraved upon parchment, and were ornamented with the picture of a ship, and otherwise decorated with marine deities. Through the engraving, scolloped indentures were made, and the scolloped tops were sent to the Barbary cruisers, who were instructed to allow all vessels producing

passes that fitted these tops, to pass unmolested. How far these documents answered the end intended will be seen hereafter.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Mediterranean passes should still continue in use, although the object for which they were instituted—protection from the Barbary pirates—has long ceased to have an existence.

Keppel left Tetuan on the 20th of June, and on the 29th of the same month the squadron, consisting of the Centurion and six other ships of war, anchored in the Bay of Algiers. The Commodore was received on his arrival with a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries. On returning the compliment, one of the guns was, by the carelessness of the gunner, loaded with shot. The Commodore immediately sent on shore to desire the Consul would inform the Dey that this was done by inadvertence, and that he had confined the officer. It did not, however, suit his Highness's views to admit the explanation; but, as will be seen, he cunningly availed himself of the accident in his subsequent conferences with the Commodore.

The next day Keppel had an audience of the Dey. The following account of the interview has found its way into several publications, but the total silence of Keppel himself upon the subject throws great doubt upon its authenticity:—

"Commodore Keppel, having proceeded with his squadron to Algiers, anchored in the Bay directly opposite to and within gunshot of the palace; and then went on shore accompanied by his captain, and attended only by his barge's crew. On his arrival at the palace he demanded an audience; and on his

admission to the divan, laid open his embassy, requiring at the same time, in the name of his sovereign, ample satisfaction for the injuries done to the British nation. Surprised at the boldness of his remonstrances, and enraged at his demands for justice, the Dey, despising his apparent youth, for he was then only four and twenty, exclaimed that he wondered at the insolence of the King of Great Britain in sending him an insignificant, beardless boy.

"On this the youthful but spirited Commodore replied, 'Had my master supposed that wisdom was measured by the length of the beard, he would have sent your Deyship a he-goat!' The tyrant, unused to such language from the sycophants of his own court, was so enraged that he ordered his mutes to advance with the bowstring, at the same time telling the Commodore that he should pay for his audacity with his life. The Commodore listened to this menace with the utmost calmness; and being near to a window which looked out upon the Bay, directed the attention of the African chief to the squadron there at anchor, telling him that if it was his pleasure to put him to death, there were Englishmen enough on board to make him a glorious funeral pile. The Dey cooled a little at this hint, aad was wise enough to permit the Commodore to depart in safety." *

The Commodore's own journal† merely describes

* Northcote's Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, vol. i. pp. 32, 33. See also Naval Chronicle, Percy Anecdotes.

† This journal, comprising 390 pages of manuscript, is entitled, "Proceedings with the States of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, in the years 1749, 1750, and 1751, and Renewal of Peace with these States. By the Honourable Augustus Keppel."

the ineffectual attempts he made to introduce the object of his mission.

It would afford but little interest to follow the Dey through all the petty chicanery and childish evasion to which he had recourse, in the course of these negotiations. The following correspondence will convey some notion of the tactics he thought it expedient to adopt:—

"COMMODORE KEPPEL TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHOMET EFFENDI, BASHAW AND DEY OF ALGIERS, ETC. ETC.

"I AM come, sir, from the King of Great Britain, &c. &c., to assure you of his friendship, and how much he was inclined to keep up that friendship which has so long and so happily subsisted between the two nations; but his Majesty was extremely sorry to find that the same inclinations did not appear on the side of your nation—your cruisers having taken a small English ship wearing his Majesty's colours. It is regarding this, sir, that his Majesty has sent me here, as well as to assure you of his inclinations to a friendship with you and your nation.

"I must inform you, sir, that the captain of the ship which your cruisers took had the same commission as the captains of his Majesty's ships of war have, and are always looked upon as the same, having the like privileges in the port of Lisbon, which is, no search, and no people of the customs allowed to enter. So that her having no pass, I flatter myself your Highness will be convinced ought to be of no consequence, as none of his Majesty's ships have any other passes

than the commission they have from the King's office of Lord High Admiral of England, &c.; and therefore the King, my master, makes no doubt of your Highness's shewing him your inclination to a friendship, by answering so reasonable a demand as the restitution of the effects of the said ship, which I am directed, sir, from his Majesty to demand and receive from your Highness; and I am, with profound respect,

"Your Highness's

"Most obedient and humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL,

"Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Fleet in the Mediterranean."

THE DEY'S ANSWER.

"To the Commander of his Britannic Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, and now at anchor in the Bay of Algiers.

"PEACE be with you.

"You have brought us a letter from your King, which we have perused, and we observe the contents.

"The Grand Seignor and King of England are very good friends, and you are to know we are likewise good friends of the King of England.

"The King of England has given you orders to come and demand the effects of a vessel which had no passports. We did not know that the King of England had any small vessels without being furnished with them; for, according to treaties, we are to know no other papers.

"The Consul did not advise us of this, nor have any of his predecessors; if they had, we should have

found it mentioned in our articles of peace; so that what effects soever, which were taken, are long since distributed among the proprietors and crews of the ships that brought the said vessel here; so are gone. Therefore, when the King sends small vessels to sea, we are to expect they have scallopt passes. If they are furnished with such, and any accident or misfortune happens by our cruisers, we will oblige ourselves to pay all the damage.

If this affair remains embroiled, indeterminate may be, because the great ships give passes to little ones, supposed illicit ones, and by this means cause a misunderstanding, and I fear many such things have happened.

The King of England has been a long time friends with Algiers, and I beg our compliments, as we desire we may remain so. I beg you will make use of, or search for, means that we remain so. Don't believe common report of people, so that the King's heart may be set against us.

"You know best.

"Peace be with you.

"From MAHOMET, Bashaw, and Dey of Algiers in the West."

The Commodore says, in reply—"... But your Highness is not pleased to answer the demand I make in his Britannic Majesty's name, which is a matter of great concern to me, as it will be the means of breaking the long friendship that has subsisted; for though your Highness says the effects are shared, still the value is what my master expects; and I

really hope, sir, you will think it but justice to make it good."

THE DEY'S ANSWER.

"To the Hon. Commodore Keppel, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's squadron, now at anchor in this Bay of Algiers.

"PEACE be with you.

"You require justice from us on the affair in question; but as it is what never yet happened, we are ignorant what to say further on this head, than to tell you, you may expect no return, nor that anything will be done more than what has already been done. And we must needs say that we plainly see, by your proceeding and behaviour, that your study is how to create a difference between this government and the King of England, our good friend.

"The custom ever was here, upon the arrival of any of his Majesty's ships, that our castles welcomed every such with twenty-one guns. We ordered the same number to be fired for you, on your anchoring in the Bay; which was accordingly done. We expected you would have complied with custom on your side. Instead of which, twenty guns were fired from the ship you were on board of, with powder only, and one gun, the very last, with a shot, which, added to the red flag you wear on your main-topmast head, we look upon as a mark of your being on no good design, but rather threatening us with War and Blood.

"Be it known that our government extends from hence to the borders of Tunis, to the eastward, and

from hence westward to Terara; and upon this our coast we have always admitted any of his Majesty's subjects to trade, and they do frequently carry off all sorts of provisions, &c., the produce of this regency; and for further proof of our regard to his Majesty and his subjects, there is now loading at Port Estore sundry English vessels, which is a liberty we allow to no other nation—all occasioned from the long, and we hope will still be, lasting friendship subsisting between his Britannic Majesty and this regency.

But if your design is to create a difference between us, we must tell you that we will acquaint his Majesty of all your proceedings; and if, after forty-six years of peace, our treaties have stood good in regard to returning all slaves that may desert from us, while any of his Majesty's ships lay at anchor in this Bay, contrary to which you have, by coming so near the town, not customary, given us suspicion that you design to protect and carry off any slaves that may get aboard the ships now under your command; and your so doing will not only convince us of your being willing, but also that you are resolved, to break the peace. When so, look to what you do. God Almighty, we hope, will protect us; and as to any return of the money taken out of the vessel in question, entertain no further thoughts about it, for it will never be given up.

"If you are willing to remain here any time, you are master. Thank God, we have plenty of all sorts of provisions; and for to tell you to go, we shall not. As we are friends, think of all that is passed; and as

you are a person of sense, by that we advise you to govern.

"Peace be with you.

"From MAHOMET, Bashaw and Dey of Algiers in the West."

"Their Lordships," says Keppel, in his letter to the Admiralty, "will observe how glad the Dey was to make use of every pretence that, should a difference ensue, we might seem equally the aggressors with themselves; especially at his taking notice and umbrage at one of my guns going off with a shot, which was merely accidental, and did not reach the shore; likewise the mention he makes of a red flag denoting blood and war, rather than friendship. What he calls a red flag was the red broad pendant at the main-top-mast head, with which their Lordships honoured me."

To understand the difficulties which the Commodore had to encounter in this negotiation, it should be remembered that he had to deal with a semi-barbarian, who, even if disposed, had not the power to grant the satisfaction that was required of him. In this affair, the Dey can be considered in no other light than a captain of banditti, who was called upon to restore plunder after it had been divided among his gang. This, indeed, he virtually admitted to be his position, by stating to Keppel, in a later stage of the proceedings—"that it was as much as his head was worth to restore the effects of the Prince Frederick."*

* The Dey's fears of his subjects were not misplaced. Two years afterwards he was murdered in his own palace.

With respect to this packet, Keppel's subsequent instructions gave him "a latitude to yield a little, to avoid the consequences of an expensive and piratical war." But even with this abatement of the British demands, such were the obstacles thrown in the way of the Commodore, that two years elapsed before the negotiations were brought to a close.

This interval was passed by Keppel either at Algiers, Gibraltar, or Mahon, from all of which places he occasionally wrote to his friend Lord Anson. The three letters which follow are addressed to that nobleman:—

"Centurion, Mahon Harbour, Sept. 22nd, 1749.

"My Dear Lord,—I hear your lordship has been making the tour of the dockyards, and I make no doubt but you found they wanted great amendments.*

"I hope Captain Arbuthnott was lucky enough to see you, that he might explain the Algerine business to you.

"I am giving the ships a large heel by the wharfs, that they may be fit for service when I receive the Admiralty's orders, concerning those pirates; a better name they hardly deserve. The French at Cette have refused their cruisers liberty to water, which may not be well taken when they hear it at Algiers. As soon as all this affair is settled, I must trouble the

* "Gross negligence, irregularities, waste, and embezzlement, were so palpable in the dockyards, that their Lordships ordered an advertisement to be set up in various parts of all the yards, offering encouragement and protection to such as should discover any misdemeanours, committed either by the officers or workmen, particularly in employing workmen or labourers on their private affairs, or any abuse whatever."—Barrow's Life of Anson, p. 216.

Admiralty about the wharfs here, which cannot be kept in repair without some money is allowed for it; and what I could not have believed before I came here, is, that the Victual Office and wharf (which is an extremely good one, and would always be very useful) is let out at 40*l.* a-year, so that in a few years, for want of proper care, I imagine the whole will be much out of repair.

"Fermor, who was really extremely ill, has been obliged to resign the command of his ship at Lisbon,* and I flatter myself their Lordships will confirm those I put in. I wait till the return of Arbuthnott to know all your pleasures.

"The Morocco business is in General Bland's hands, who I don't take to be a man of infinite patience, and he finds a most troublesome job of it. I am sure nothing ever gave me so much pleasure as your not putting it under my inspection. The governors are always the most proper people, as they can always stop a communication with the Moors, which is a great punishment to them. As for us, by sea, we can only threaten and do nothing.

"I am sending Willett† down to Cadiz. The merchants are in some want of a man of war there. If he gets home, he will bring you a very fine Barcelona barrel, which was sent me from there. If you should want any of Sages' wine, I beg you will make Stephens‡ write; for unless it is bespoke in time, money cannot get it. There were some birds at Lis-

* Hon. William Fermor, second son of the Earl of Pomfret, died on his passage home.

† Captain of the Garland. ‡ Secretary to the Admiralty.

bon, which I directed might be sent to Lady Anson. I hope they got safe. By what opportunity they went I really don't know.

"I don't know whether your Lordship is acquainted with General Blakeney,* but a better man never lived.

"I fear I have tired your patience, and therefore conclude, and am, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient,

"And most humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

"Mahon, Centurion, Nov. 12th, 1749.

"MY LORD,—I have been expecting with great earnestness the arrival of Captain Arbuthnott, with their Lordships' directions concerning the Algerine gentlemen; but I find, by his being detained, you are long determining what to do. Should anything be attempted against them, it is much too late in the year, as the Road is very open, and there are great seas, even in the summer time, coming in. But I hope you will be more peaceably inclined, considering how submissive they have been in sending their ambassadors to his Majesty with presents, and to clear up the disputes in which they have treaty so much on their side.

"General Bland has had great trouble with the

* Lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief in Minorca, which offices he held until the capture of the island, in 1756, by the Duc de Richelieu, an event which led to the execution of Admiral Byng. Walpole expressing his hopes that we might "still save Minorca," adds, "and, what I think still more of, dear old Blakeney." General Blakeney was created a peer for the defence of that island.

Tetuan business. How happy am I that it was not put into my hands. A war, even with them, would be of infinite detriment to the credit of the British trade, without our getting satisfaction from those pirates. They have but very few little cruisers out, but of such a sort as to do infinite damage, unless we had vessels of the same sort, in case of a rupture; they are zebecks and row boats.

"I have sent Mr. Owen,* my first lieutenant, down in the Nightingale to Gibraltar, to attend General Bland. I have done nothing in regard to the command of that ship, having two gentlemen in sloops, who are strong solicitors for post, and both very good men—Captain Le Crass, and Captain Wyatt.† As I flatter myself I shall be allowed to fill up vacancies, so I do to hear from your Lordship and Lord Sandwich, which of the two gentlemen you would choose should be preferred. It is true my Lord Sandwich did write, a great while ago, recommending Wyatt, but it was before this vacancy happened. I should not have hesitated a moment, but that Le Crass is the senior officer, and so good a man. It is from this I could wish you and Lord Sandwich had settled it, and would signify your inclinations to me; but if Arbuthnott should arrive before your Lordship says anything concerning this, I believe it will be necessaryto fill all vacancies up at venture.

* He served under Keppel on board the Maidstone, Anson, Centurion, and Torbay; he was promoted to the rank of captain in 1758, and died in 1796.

† Captain Le Crass obtained his post rank in 1755, Captain Wyatt in 1756.

"Proby is desirous of changing out of the Lyme into her. He complains much, now it is winter, of want of men for those great masts and yards. She will be of much greater expense in heaving down than the others, as we shall be obliged always to fix her a spar deck, from the deepness of her waist. The Centurion jipt her mainmast, in parliament heeling, by the lashings of the shears giving way; but we have since got another in, and seen her keel both ways. I am tired with staying in port, but have one satisfaction in it; which is, to see a good understanding between the land and sea forces. Excuse this long and tiresome epistle, and allow me to assure you that I am, "With respect,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obedient and humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

"Centurion, Gibraltar Bay, December 23, 1749.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am now just got to Gibraltar, to see how the troubles of Tetuan go on. I find them in a much better state than I expected, and that those people don't care much to quarrel with us. However, I wish all these barbarian broils were accommodated, that I might be more at leisure, and go to the healthy parts of the Mediterranean. I don't mean by that, that any parts are sickly; only that Minorca gave me a strong fever and ague, which, by the bark and change of climate, I hope I have mastered.

"I now and then hear by Adair, that your Lord-

ship is well, which is a great pleasure to me; but it would be an additional happiness to me to hear it from yourself. I hope the method I proceed in this command meets with your approbation. I flatter myself it does—otherwise the regard your Lordship has always shewn for me, I imagine, would induce you to let me know in what I was going wrong. I own it would give me infinite uneasiness to find myself so; but when my study is to act up to the good opinion you are pleased to have of me, it makes me extremely desirous not to continue in an error.

"You will receive this by Captain Le Crass,* who is a mighty good lad. I wrote you a good deal of stuff by the last packet, about him and Wyatt, in regard to preferring them to the Nightingale, hoping that it would have been left to me. I don't complain to your Lordship, but am sorry: I flattered myself so much with the hopes of having the disposal of the appointment. As I found myself such a loser by the Algerine business, in point of freights, I have endeavoured to make it up a little, by sending the ships, on their way home, to Cadiz and Lisbon. I hope the Admiralty will not find fault with it; if they do, I am sure I shall be sorry for it, though I get ever so much by it. The Algerines are cruising with four men-of-war off Lisbon and Cadiz: they keep both

* He was a lieutenant in Matthews' action. In 1748 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and in 1755 to that of captain. In 1778 he was appointed an extra commissioner of the navy; a situation he filled till 1793, when he was made deputy-comptroller, but died in the following December.

towns in awe. They have taken a Brazil ship and a Dantzicker. The merchant ships of the English that I have spoke to, say they are very civil to them; which I don't wonder at. It is quite their interest to be well with us, and really so is it ours to be well with them. All nations would be glad we undertook what they are so much afraid to undertake; then, all the trading nations to the Mediterranean would be upon a better footing than the English. At present, (I believe I mentioned it before,) the Swedes, Danes, and Dutch, are in a manner tributary to them, to let their trade pass free; and when the Algerines, now and then, take one of them upon a slight pretence, the sufferers are obliged to put up with the loss. I am informed, that about two months ago, a Swede store-ship went to Algiers, with bombs and mortars, and other warlike stores; and it seems the Algiers cruisers have taken a French Martinico ship, for firing at one of their zebecks.

"Proby has sailed for Italy; and though he would rather have had the Nightingale, the Lyme is not quite out of favour. You shall have a true account of her after the winter: if she then answers, she will be a delightful frigate: all nations admire her beauty. Barrington in the Seahorse, sailed with me from Mahon for a week, clean. I think she goes well upon one mast, but, without partiality, I think the Centurion outsails her every other way. I have reduced the Centurion's topmast for winter. She don't go the worse for it, and I find her much the stiffer.

"We are given hopes of the communication be-

tween this place and Spain being opened by land. It will be more passable then; at present, it is but dull. I propose in four or five weeks returning to Minorca, where any commands you may have for me will find me.

"I hope Lady Anson keeps her health. My respects to her Ladyship, and allow me to assure your Lordship, that I am, with respect,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

"Centurion, Gibraltar Bay, Dec. 23, 1749."

The Commodore could scarcely have despatched the foregoing letter, before he had cause to change his opinion, that British ships would not be molested by the Algerines. In all his communications with the Dey, Keppel had received the strongest assurances that our merchant ships should receive no further molestation from the Algerine cruisers. The following letters will shew the value of the immunity thus promised, and the degree of protection afforded by the Mediterranean passes.

COMMODORE KEPPEL TO JOHN CLEVLAND, ESQ.

"Centurion, Gibraltar Bay, December 23, 1749.

"SIR,—I beg you would inform their Lordships, that hereunder follows the copy of the translation of a letter I this morning received from his Excellency the Governor of St. Bogue:—

"Port St. Mary's, 21st January, 1750.

"'THE day before yesterday, came into St. Lucar, an English ship,* which had been taken by the Algerines, on pretext that her pass was not good; and they put six Moors on board her, in place of six Englishmen, which they took out; but the Moors not being very expert, the Englishmen carried them into the river of Sevil. From St. Lucar a detachment has been put on board, at the request of the English, to secure them from the Moors; and they are all to perform quarantine together."

"..... As soon as I have an account from Captain Arbuthnott of the particulars, I propose writing to Mr. Stanyford, at Algiers, to make proper remonstrances.

"I am, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

"Gibraltar Bay, 21st January, 1750.

"SIR,—Since my last informing their Lordships of a ship being taken by the Algerines, but which got into St. Lucar, an English brigantine has arrived in this bay, called the Endeavour, John Jones master, belonging to Portsmouth, with four Moors on board, and as many English; the Algerines having taken out four of his men. She was

* The Eagle.

taken about four weeks past, off the rock of Lisbon, by a thirty-gun man-of-war, on pretence of her pass not being good.

"I have examined the officer who was put on board the brigantine by the Algerines, who informs me, that he and others endeavoured to persuade the captain not to make so unjust a seizure, for that they imagined the pass to be good; notwithstanding which, he says, the captain was such a beast and brute, (which disposition he had shewn on other occasions,) that he paid no regard to any thing that was said, and who, he does not doubt, will suffer for his behaviour when he returns to Algiers. "I am, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

"P.S.—Since my writing the enclosed, there is come in a ship, named the Pike, of Liverpool, Green master, taken the 15th instant, by the same cruiser; who put on board two Moors in the room of three English taken out. He brings account that two other vessels had been taken, and treated in the same manner, and under the same pretence."

It will be observed, that, of the vessels thus boarded, few of them reached Algiers. The English crew generally availing themselves of the Mahometans' ignorance of seamanship, as in the cases quoted, to take their captors captives; or, as was sometimes the case, of employing other means

to rid themselves of their oppressors; as the letter here given will shew:

JEREMIAH BURROUGHS, ESQ., TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

"Custom House, Bristol, Jan. 13, 1750.

"SIR,—On the 10th instant arrived here, the ship Phœnix, James Carbery master, from Malaga. In her passage, near Lisbon, she was taken by an Algerine ship of war, called the Corobello, one Omar commander, who took the mate and three other English mariners on board his own ship; putting at the same time six Algerine sailors on board the Phœnix, with orders to carry her to Algier, as a prize; but some time after Captain Carbery found means to strike overboard two of the Algerines that were in his ship, and has brought the other four prisoners to this port.

"I am, &c.

"JER. BURROUGHS."

In consequence of these repeated aggressions, the Commodore made so strong a remonstrance to the Dey of Algiers, that it produced the following reply:

"HAVING received your letter by the Zeveque, I have to let you know in answer, that one of our frigates, being on a cruise, met with five English vessels, whose passes the captain was dubious were not good. He put three or four Moors on board each ship, in order to bring them to Algier, to be examined, and took a like number of English-

men out of the said ships. On his arrival here, I immediately found the captain in a very great fault, which tended to embroil me with my chiefest and best friends; wherefore, I immediately sent the people to the consul, and seized the captain, and would have strangled him, but for the intercessions of the Mufti, and principal people of my court; but he never more shall serve me by sea or land, nor ever more set his foot at the marine. Wherefore, as we are the best and oldest friends, I hope the king your master will look upon this accident as the action of a fool or madman, and I shall take care that nothing of that nature shall happen again, and that we may be better friends than ever."

Under date of the 8th July, Keppel's journal has the following curious entry:—"Was informed by Mr. Owen* that, yesterday, John Dyer (who entered at Mahon) deserted from the long boat, and fled for sanctuary to a Marabut, and turned Moor. By further information, found that he had, five years ago, turned Moor, and had a wife and family here. On which I sent to the Dey to demand he might be sent on board the Centurion, to receive the punishment he had incurred as a deserter, which was death. In answer to which, the Dey said, 'It was contrary to his laws to give up people who turned Moors; but as he had turned back-

* First Lieutenant of the Centurion.

wards and forwards so often, he was neither fish nor flesh, and fit for neither of us; therefore, as the punishment on our side was death, and that of a renegado flying from his country was death likewise, he, to split the difference, would take off his head, if I had no objection;' to which I assented, to put an end to a dispute in which I thought his Majesty's honour was no ways concerned, and that such a villanous fellow might not escape the punishment he had deserved by his actions."

COMMODORE KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Algier, July 15th, 1750.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I am in Africa at present, and have an opportunity of paying my respects to your Lordship, which accompany my letters to the Admiralty, as well as one to Lord Sandwich.

"I am knuckle deep in business; but as yet I cannot prevail on the Dey to enter on *the* business for want of his ambassadors, which are to come by the Prince Henry; so that after these despatches sail, I may go into the country for my health. The ague is a disorder that seems to have possession of me. I have had it off and on for these seven months past. I wish I may be able to finish the affair I have come on, to his Majesty's satisfaction, and to the credit of my benefactors. I own I think it rather ticklish; the people I have to deal with are mostly void of common reason, and other than

common reason I am without. However, as far as we now are, we understand one another very well. I have sent the heads of the particulars to your Board, to which I refer your Lordship.

" I have got a house on shore here, in which I do the honours of his Majesty's ambassador not to discredit him: I hope I shall have credit for it, or else my freight-money will not increase, and I shall remain as poor as ever. The presents from the Government to this State are so shabby, and have lain so long, that I am almost ashamed to deliver them: I fear I must be obliged to collect what things are here amongst us to make them up.

" I thought it my duty to inform Lord Sandwich of every particular thing I am about and that happens; a step I hope you approve of. His Lordship has professed his friendship for me by his letters, which I sincerely have reason to believe, and hope to deserve a continuation of.

" I have not wrote to your Lordship since my hearing that you were of the Privy Council, and which I now beg to congratulate you upon. I am at a loss to know to whom I am to send my dispatches; the directions I received to obey the orders of the Lords Justices has puzzled me,* whether to send them to them, to your Board, or Secretary of State. For this time they go to the Admiralty, and

* George the Second was at this time absent on a visit to Hanover.

I trust your Lordship and the rest of my friends, should I be wrong, will plead in my favour; and be so good as let Stephens write me a line to Minorca to inform me, and the sooner the more likely to prevent my going on in my error, (if one.)

"A long absence furnishes one with many occurrences that are not proper to put on paper; and therefore I must be silent at present. I wonder if the Board would take it amiss, if I make a slip from Minorca to Paris for six weeks or so, when there is nothing to do. I long much to see my father; and my happiness would be still more increased if I met your Lordship there, who I am more obliged to than to any father. My time since my being in these seas cannot be thought over pleasant—Gibraltar, Tetuan, Minorca, and Algier being the places that the nation's affairs have required my being at. I will not take up more of your time, but must beg not to be forgot to Lady Anson and your brother; and believe me that I remain, with the greatest respect,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Centurion, Mahon, Oct. 8th, 1750.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I received the letter you did me the favour to write me by the Garland, only a very few days ago, or should sooner have re-

turned your Lordship my sincere thanks for it and its contents. I wrote to you from Algiers upon my leaving it. I think, upon the Dey's letter to the King, that matters may be adjusted; but I hope you think I was right in not venturing to conclude upon promises. Although it is what may be done at home, my character is not so fixed in the world, but on such a step I might lose it. I wait with some impatience for my last instructions, that I may move from this place, which so constantly attacks me with the ague. This is my well day; which interval I take to write to your Lordship.

"I suppose I am not to send to Tripoli and Tunis this year, about the Mediterranean passes being changed; if not, I imagine I may despatch the other ships home. It will be necessary to have one spare ship with me for that service in the spring, when you send out the passes. The French are shewing away, with six ships of the line, all along the coast of Barbary.

"Lloyd* is now under orders for England. I have directed him to call at Cadiz and Lisbon, and have added one bold stroke to his orders, which is, in case of application from the factories, to go on for Holland. I have had letters from those ports, telling me there are sometimes most considerable sums bound that way.

* Captain William Lloyd, of the Sphinx. He died, an Admiral of the White, in 1795.

"I was surprised when I heard my friend, Lord Vere, was made a peer, but was much more so to hear it was not the Duke of Newcastle's doing.* It is certainly most strange. His Lordship will now, I suppose, pass the remainder of his days in quiet. I wish, with all my heart, the ministry would take Lord Albemarle from the post he is in; there is no likelihood of his adding to his fortune there, or increasing his interest, especially since the loss of the most valuable of brothers and friends to him and all his family.† I cannot but feel greatly for the loss of so great and good a man, and heartily pity the poor Duchess, who must be inconsolable on the occasion.

"I thought your Lordship had some thoughts of seeing Paris. I wish, if it was so, that I might be able to meet your Lordship there, though the descriptions of it from the many people that come this way would not induce me to take the trip, but it would be to meet you and see my father.

"I have sent home, by Lloyd, a black horse. He

* Walpole says, "He (the King) has made Lord Vere Beauclerc a baron, at the solicitation of the Pelhams, as this Lord had resigned upon a pique with Lord Sandwich."—Correspondence of Horace Walpole, vol. ii. p. 327.

† Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse. He died on the 8th of August, 1750, in the fiftieth year of his age. Lord Albemarle had married his sister, Lady Anne Lennox.

was four years old last spring, is of the best Barb blood, quite gentle, and sweet-tempered. I rode him all the while I was at Algiers, and would not send him to you if he was not of the best breed. Your Lordship had better direct Eddowes, at Portsmouth, to take him under his care, to convey him from there to you. It will be a good while before Lloyd will arrive at Portsmouth. I have desired him to land him wherever he makes any stay, for exercise, to prevent his greasing, and take him on board when ready to sail. I have promised my brother* to send him home a horse for the Duke, but they (of the best blood) are so scarce that I don't know how soon I shall succeed.

"I need not say you command me in everything. I have often expressed my grateful acknowledgments of your tender care of me, and I hope to continue worthy of your protection; for no one is, with more respect,

"Your Lordship's

"Most sincere and grateful humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

In the month of June, 1751, Keppel succeeded in effecting a treaty. The leading articles may be deduced from the following letter to George the Second:—

* Viscount Bury, Lord of the Bedchamber to the Duke of Cumberland.

"MAHOMET, Dey of Algiers in the West.

"By the help of God, blessed for ever, preserve us from ill, and our present Grand Seignor, of the blood of Ali Osman, King of the Earth and Sea, Sultan, and Son of a Sultan, Sultan who gives sanctuary to all who flee to him, the Great Warrior, Mohammed Khan,—may the great God always preserve him and his family, and may their crown remain for ever.

"I, his servant, who stand under his stirrup, Dey and Governor of Algiers in the West, Mohammed Bashaw, whose government God preserve, who write this to the King of Great Britain, Ireland, France, Scotland, &c. May this letter of friendship meet his hands, who is the pillar and support of Christians, and on whom they all rely for protection, our most faithful and dearest friend, and ally of the longest standing, who is wise in council, who may God make happy to the end, and always lead him in the right way, to whom I wish all the happiness which the grandeur of his crown can afford him, and his high merits deserve; and out of the great friendship I bear towards him, I now come to inquire after his health, which may God long preserve, and protect him in the enjoyment of his crown and dignity, Amen,—and for the sake of Jesus, the beloved of God.

"And now, in regard to the true friendship that is between us, I shall lay before your Majesty, that

the Commodore of your Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, the Honourable Augustus Keppel, who always prays for your Majesty's welfare, who is come here from you in friendship, and has brought us presents from your Majesty, which with pleasure we have received, and return our thanks for the same.*

"Our esteemed friend, the Commodore aforementioned, we find to be a man of experience and knowledge, with whom and your Majesty's Consul, Mr. Stanyford, we have had some discourse for settling some certain affairs between us. And first, regarding your Majesty's packets, which stands inserted in the Ottoman, it is ordered—

"That all packets bearing your Majesty's commission, which shall be met with by any of the cruisers of Algiers, shall be treated with the same respect as your Majesty's ships of war, and all due respect shall be duly paid to your Majesty's commission, and both at meeting and parting they shall be treated as friends. And if any of the Algerine cruisers commit the least fault or violence against them, the captains, or raizes, so offending, shall, on their arrival at Algier, on proper complaint being made of them, be most severely punished, without admitting of their excuses.

"And in like manner, should any of our cap-

* For a list of the presents, see Appendix D. vol. i.

tains commit any injury to merchantmen, in violation of treaty, they shall be most severely punished; and from henceforward, you shall have convincing proof of the particular regard we shall pay to your Majesty's colours. And, at the request of our friend, the Commodore, regarding the passports for your Majesty's merchant ships, we have agreed that all your Majesty's merchant ships shall have their old passes continue good for one year, to be reckoned to commence from the time the counter tops of the new passes shall be delivered at Algier, except the ships in the East Indies, who shall be allowed three years from the time the new counter tops shall be delivered as aforesaid.

"This is what we have wrote down here; and there is likewise a counterpart hereof left in the hands of the consul.

"And for any of your Majesty's trading subjects, we promise to give them the preference to any other nation.

"And for any of your cruisers who come here, they shall be at liberty to buy anything the markets here afford at the market price, without any molestation.

"And this in regard to the lasting friendship betwixt us, we have also directed all our captains meeting with any of your Majesty's merchant ships, to treat them with all sort of civility.

"We pray God that the friendship may long continue on both sides.

"The captains are charged, in the strictest manner, to pay the greatest regard touching what relates to the packets."

Soon after the settlement of this part of his mission, Commodore Keppel proceeded to Tripoli, and thence to Tunis, where, after some difficulties, he succeeded in concluding satisfactory treaties with each of these states.*

The manner in which he had discharged the duties he had been employed upon, gained for him the approbation of the Lords of the Admiralty, who desired their secretary to express "their great satisfaction with his proceedings in these, as well as on every other occasion, during his command in the Mediterranean."

As a large portion of his time was necessarily passed in Port Mahon, he availed himself of the opportunity to have an accurate survey of the bays and anchoring places round the island of Minorca, no correct chart of that island being then in existence.

Keppel returned to England the latter end of July, and was soon afterwards ordered to pay off the Centurion. A short time before he struck his

* See Appendix E.

broad pendant, he was appointed member of a court-martial ordered to try Captain Harry Powlet,* who was charged by Admiral Griffin with neglect of duty; and that, "He did not hearten and encourage the inferior officers and common men to fight courageously; but, on the contrary, behaved himself faintly,—forsook his own station on the quarter-deck, and shewed marks of fear by bobbing, and otherwise."† Admiral Griffin, however, could not produce a single witness to substantiate his accusation. The Court accordingly declared the charge to be groundless, and acquitted the prisoner. Griffin had himself been previously dismissed the service, for misconduct in the East Indies.

* Afterwards Duke of Bolton. † Admiralty records.

CHAPTER VI.

EXPEDITION TO NORTH AMERICA.

Causes of the rupture with France—Letters upon the British possessions in America—Washington's first engagement—Friendly professions of France and England—Preparations of both countries for war—Keppel appointed commodore of a squadron and coadjutor with General Braddock in his expedition against America—Sails from England—Walpole's account of the death of Lord Albemarle—Keppel elected member for Chichester—Arrives in America—Transactions there—Keppel is ordered home—Letters upon the defeat and death of General Braddock—His character.

1754 TO 1756.

THE treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle must be considered more in the light of a truce, than of a well-grounded peace. As neither party disarmed, it was evident that each contemplated, at a convenient season, the renewal of hostilities. Two causes, having no connexion with each other, led to an immediate rupture: the one, the rival claims of the houses of Austria and Brandenburg to the Duchy of Silesia; the other,—to which it is our business more particularly to allude,—the undefined limits of the English and French territories in America.

The English, as the first settlers on the American coast, considering that they had the best right to the inland country, and consequently to the navigation of the Missisippi, formed a company, and obtained and occupied a large tract of land, near the river Ohio, on the western side of the Alleghany mountains. The French, on the other hand, pretending to have discovered the mouths of the Missisippi, claimed the whole adjacent country, towards New Mexico on the east, and to the Alleghany mountains on the west, and acting upon their assumed right, drove off the English settlers, and built a strong fort called Du Quesne,* on the fork of the river Monaghela; a situation which commanded the entrance of all the country adjacent to the Ohio and Missisippi. Although several engagements had taken place between the colonial forces in America, no allusion to war was made in Europe, and the two nations continued to vie with each other in professions of peace and amity, a year after actual hostilities had commenced, between their respective armies, on the opposite shores of the Atlantic.

The breaking out of hostilities in America is described in the following letter from Mr. Sharpe, the Governor of Maryland, to the Commodore's brother:

* The site of this fort is now occupied by the great manufacturing town of Pittsburgh.

HORATIO SHARPE, ESQ., TO VISCOUNT BURY.

"Annapolis, Maryland, November 5, 1754.

"My Lord,—Your favour of January I had lately the pleasure to receive by Mr. Christie; and in answer thereto, must desire your Lordship to be assured that that, and every letter of the same sort, shall command any services from me, to any gentleman here who may be fortunate enough to get himself recommended to your Lordship's notice.

"Your Lordship will, I hope, excuse me for adding to a few lines, (which I cannot but think too concise a letter to your Lordship,) a brief narration of some occurrences that have happened here, since my arrival on the Continent; and are looked upon at home, I find, as well as with us, as matters of no trivial importance.

"About this time twelve months, the several Governors on this Continent received letters from England, whereby they were advised of the march of a considerable body of Europeans and Indians towards the English settlements in Pennsylvania and Virginia; and were also forbid to connive at or suffer any such apprehended intrusion or incursion of foreigners into his Majesty's territories and dominions, but ordered to repel them by every means in their power. These letters were, I apprehend, transmitted hither in consequence of some repre-

sentations that had been sent home in the preceding spring. However, on the receipt of them, Governor Dinwiddie sent a messenger,* with a letter to the commander of a party of French,†—who had lately marched down from Canada, and were building a fort on the river Ohio, westward of the province of Pennsylvania, and about one hundred and fifty miles from the inhabited parts of Virginia,—requiring him to retire, and relinquish his Majesty the King of Great Britain's land, on which they were then presuming to build a fort. Instead of complying with Governor Dinwiddie's requisition, the French Commandant replied, that it was more the part of his commander,‡ the Governor of Canada, than his, to dispute with the Governor of Virginia about the property of the land he was then possessed of;—that, for his part, he was only concerned with his commanding officer's orders, which he was determined punctually to obey, and repel by force whatever power should attempt to dislodge him, or interrupt him in the execution of his duty.

"On the messenger's return with this answer, Governor Dinwiddie thought proper to order a party of thirty men to advance to the Ohio, some miles

* The messenger was the famous Washington, then a major of militia.

† M. de St. Pierre, the commander alluded to was a knight of the military order of St. Louis; a brave and courteous old soldier.

‡ The Marquis Duquesne.

below the French fort, and prepare materials for erecting a fortress also upon that river; hoping the General Assembly of Virginia (whom he immediately convened,) and the neighbouring colonies, would enable him not only to complete and garrison that fort, but also to recover all the lands that the French had taken possession of on that fine river.

"With the supplies granted by the Assembly, he proceeded to raise three hundred men in that province, having been also informed from home that two from New York, and one of the Independendent Companies from South Carolina, were ordered round to Virginia to attend his orders and directions. The company from Carolina arrived in Virginia the latter end of March, and the other from New York, within three or four weeks after. But whatever hopes he had entertained of receiving assistance from the other colonies, proved entirely vain and illusive; it being impossible, as yet, to persuade any of them, that they were at all interested in the affair, or could be in the least affected by the event and issue of the dispute. With the force, however, above numbered, and about three hundred men that were about to be sent out from North Carolina to join them, Governor Dinwiddie hoped to be able at least to act defensively, and to proceed to erect a fort or two on the Ohio, till he should receive farther instructions from home for his conduct.

" While he was about to order this scheme into execution, intelligence was brought him, that a body of about two hundred French Regulars had, on the 17th of April, come down on the small party who had been ordered out to prepare materials for a fort, and had obliged them to relinquish what materials they had collected for that purpose, and to return again to Virginia.

" This information was too soon confirmed to us, and the enemy immediately began, and have now completed a fort, considerably strong and large, near the spot on which our people had begun to build, and have mounted therein several swivels and some carriage guns.

" At the time that Ensign Ward and his detachment made the surrender above mentioned, the rest of the Virginia corps, and the South Carolina company, under the command of one Mr. Washington,* were advancing to support them, and fortify themselves on the river; but on being acquainted with the cause of their unexpected return, as soon as the party met him, he declined proceeding, till he should be reinforced by the other troops who were now in motion towards him, and in the meantime employed himself in opening a road from the frontiers of this province toward the enemy's forts.

" While he was in this situation, about midway

* The founder of American independence.

between the English settlements and the enemy, a party of his men fell in with Monsieur Jumonville, a lieutenant, and about thirty men from the fort, (who were sent, as 'twas supposed, to intercept a convoy of provisions designed for our men,) and having killed Jumonville and seven or eight of his detachment, they took the rest prisoners, and sent them under a guard to the Governor of Virginia, where they yet remain.*

"No sooner did the news of this skirmish reach the Ohio, but the enemy drew together from the several fortresses which they have built up and down that river, near one thousand men, in order to fall on our troops, and return the compliment.

"Mr. Washington being apprised of this a few days before the enemy approached, with the advice of the other officers, returned a few miles to a place

* This was the commencement of Washington's military career. Walpole, alluding to the engagement, says:—"In the express which Major Washington dispatched on his preceding little victory, he concluded with these words:—'I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound.' On hearing of this letter, the King said sensibly, 'He would not say so if he had been used to hear many.' However, this brave braggart learned to blush for his rhodomontade, and, desiring to serve General Braddock as aid-de-camp, acquitted himself nobly."—Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second, vol. i. p. 347.

Lord Holland, in a note, says,—"It is wonderful that Lord Orford should have allowed this expression to remain, after he had lived to witness and admire the subsequent career of that great man, General Washington."—Ibid.

called the Meadows, it being low land, between two eminences or small hills, where he encamped, and, as well as the time would permit, endeavoured to secure himself, by drawing around him a small ditch, and building within it a sort of log-house. Here, on the 3rd of July, about noon, the French attacked him, and having killed him about thirty men, obliged him, towards the evening, to capitulate, and accept terms which indeed were very far from being *pretty honourable.**

"That he did not stand longer on the defensive, he attributes to the great improbability there was of holding out against such a superiority of numbers, when he had not any expectation of seeing the other troops come to his assistance, and being also in want of both ammunition and provisions. But that he was prevailed on to sign a dishonourable capitulation is owing, he declares, and concurrent circumstances support his assertion, not to these difficulties, but to the infidelity of one of his captains,† now a hostage with the enemy, on whom he depended to interpret to him the terms and conditions proposed to him by the enemy, which were

* Walpole's remark upon this defeat is in the same strain as upon the victory:—"The French have tied up the hands of an excellent *fanfaron*, a Major Washington, whom they took, and engaged not to serve for a year."—Walpole's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 73.

† One Jacob Vanbraam, a Dutchman by birth, and formerly an officer in the army; he was employed to assist in his intercourse with the French, being acquainted with their language.—Spark's Life of Washington, p. 25.

written in French, a language that Mr. Washington had the misfortune to be entirely unacquainted with. Thus at once were frustrated all the hopes that had been conceived from the Virginia armament, &c.

"Though the news of this defeat has somewhat alarmed the people in this part of the Continent, yet they could not be persuaded to advance anything considerable for carrying on another expedition against these invaders, who, I am afraid, will gradually make themselves masters of our possessions, as they have already of all the Indian trade, unless some measures be taken at home to oblige us to defend them ourselves, or remittances be made hither to encourage the service.

"At present, the Independent companies, a company of one hundred men which this province has raised, and the remains of the Virginians, whom death and desertion has reduced to about two hundred; are encamped on the frontiers of the settled part of Virginia and this province, at a place called Will's Creek, where, I believe, they are to proceed to build a fort, or sort of magazine, and there remain till some instructions from home shall open to them a prospect of entering upon action with greater probability of success.

"This I flatter myself with the hope of seeing soon, as I make no doubt but a proper representation of the present posture of affairs on the Conti-

nent has been sent home, and that our situation and condition will be taken into consideration. This our past and present parsimony and supineness absolutely require, as they have prevented our being at this time in possession of a fine country that the French are making themselves masters of, and whence they will not be dislodged but at a great expense.

"Thus far I had writ some weeks since, designing to address it to your Lordship by the first opportunity of conveyance that should offer, but none having till now occurred, I have had it transcribed, and thereto added a few lines to inform your Lordship that I have received a commission which his Majesty has been pleased to honour me with, whereby I am ordered to take the command of all the forces that shall be employed in this part of the Continent against his Majesty's and this country's enemies.

"In pursuance of this, I am making some necessary preparations for taking the field, or rather the woods, this winter, in hopes of being able, if the neighbouring governments will make a proper addition to the troops above-numbered, to carry the fort which the enemy, as I have before noticed, have built on the Ohio, at the Forks of the Monongahela, or one that they have built farther up the river, near Lake Erie. The possession of either of these would enable us to cut off, if we are properly sup-

ported, the communication that they are solicitous to establish by a chain of forts from Montreal to New Orleans, near the mouth of the river Mississippi, and would also prevent the total loss of a trade that these colonies have hitherto enjoyed with the Indian natives, of which we are now almost entirely deprived.

"A small number of men from home would, I persuade myself, have rendered me equal to this task; but as I cannot hope to see any troops transported hither to be under my direction, I will endeavour to do the best I can with those I have the honour to command, and will hope that I may be able to give you such an account of my conduct, as, I flatter myself, your good wishes for me make you desirous of seeing.

"In the meantime, I would beg the favour of you to signify to me whether it would become me at any time, to take the liberty to submit my transactions and behaviour, in the execution of my commission, to his Royal Highness,* or satisfy myself with laying them only before the ministry and yourself, whom I will beg leave to trouble as often as I have anything of importance to write on.

"Your Lordship will have the goodness to excuse my sending this in a different character from what I intended, and attribute it to my being en-

* The Duke of Cumberland.

tirely engrossed in some business that demands to be dispatched before I can leave this place, and your Lordship will, I hope, believe me to be, with the greatest respect and regard,

" Your Lordship's much obliged, &c.

" Hor. Sharpe."*

While France and England were exchanging declarations of friendship and good will, reinforcements of troops from both countries were pouring into America.

The command of the troops, amounting to 1500 men, was given to General Braddock, and that of the naval part of the expedition to Captain Keppel, who was ordered to co-operate with the General. In the latter part of 1754, he received his commission as Commodore, and was at the same time ordered to proceed with the Norwich, Captain the Hon. Samuel Barrington, and take the command of all the ships on the North American station.

On the 23rd of December, the Commodore put to sea, with the Norwich in company. The day previous to his sailing, Mr. Napier, third lieutenant of the Norwich, being too unwell to proceed on the voyage, the Commodore availed himself of the opportunity to give his protégé, Adam Duncan, an order, as acting lieutenant.

On the same day the unexpected death of the

* Lord Albemarle's MSS.

Commodore's father, the Earl of Albemarle, occurred at Paris. He was apparently in perfect health, returning from an evening party, when he was suddenly seized with palsy and apoplexy, and expired in the course of a few hours. The circumstance is thus mentioned by Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann:—"You will have heard, long before you receive this, of Lord Albemarle's sudden death at Paris. If I were as grave an historian as my Lord Clarendon, I should now, without any scruple, tell you a dream: you would either believe it, from my dignity of character, or conclude, from my dignity of character, that I did not believe it myself. As neither of these important evasions will serve my turn, I shall relate the following, only prefacing, that I do believe the dream happened, and happened right, among the millions of dreams that do not hit. Lord Bury was at Windsor with the Duke, when the express of his father's death arrived; he came to town time enough to find his mother and sisters at breakfast. —'Lord! child,' said my Lady Albemarle, 'what brings you to town so early?' He said he had been sent for. Says she, 'You are not well!' 'Yes,' replied Lord Bury, 'I am; but a little flustered with something I have heard.' 'Let me feel your pulse,' said Lady Albemarle. 'Oh!' continued she, 'your father is dead!' 'Lord, Madam,' said Lord Bury, 'how could that come into your head?

I should rather have imagined that you would have thought it was my poor brother William,' (who is just gone to Lisbon for his health.) 'No,' said my Lady Albemarle, 'I know it is your father; I dreamed last night that he was dead, and came to take leave of me!'—and immediately swooned.

"Lord Albemarle's places are not yet given away: ambassador at Paris, I suppose there will be none; it was merely kept up to gratify him; besides, when we have no minister, we can deliver no memorials. Lord Rochfort is, I quite believe, to be groom of the stole;* that leaves your Turin open, besides such trifles as a blue garter, the second troop of guards, and the government of Virginia."

The intelligence of his father's decease did not arrive in England till the day after the Commodore sailed. His elder brother, Lord Bury, succeeding to the peerage, vacated the borough of Chichester, for which place the Commodore was shortly afterwards returned without opposition.

After a tedious and tempestuous voyage, in which the Centurion's foremast, and the Norwich's fore and main masts, were sprung, Keppel arrived with both ships off the coast of Virginia, and anchored in Hampton Road on the 19th of February.

* Walpole's conjecture was correct; Lord Rochfort succeeded Lord Albemarle as groom of the stole.

The Commodore's first object was to collect his squadron, and acquaint the governors of the different provinces of his arrival and his readiness to assist them in carrying into execution the instructions they had received from the British government. The transports under the charge of Captain Palliser,* in the Seahorse, arrived the middle of March, when preparations were immediately made for conveying the troops up the Potomac river to Alexandria.

Several circumstances, however, combined to delay the operations of the squadron. Many of the ships were extremely sickly: in the Seahorse scarcely a man was fit for duty, and the Centurion had been obliged to land a considerable number of her crew, many of whom died, and some even in the act of landing. General Braddock also had been so badly provided with stores and ammunition, that the Commodore was obliged to supply him from the men of war; and the arms, baggage, and accoutrements of the soldiers were so dispersed among the different transports that it was necessary to make a complete clearance before any single division of the land forces could be properly equipped. The General having applied for four cannon from the ships, on the ground that they were necessary to render his attack on Fort Du Quesne effective,

* Afterwards Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser.

the Commodore at once complied with his request; but knowing the almost insurmountable difficulty with which the troops would have to contend in dragging these guns over the mountains, he ordered a detachment of thirty picked men, with a midshipman, from each ship, under the command of Lieutenant Spendelow, to accompany the army, imagining, as he himself remarks, that "soldiers could not be so well acquainted with the nature of purchases and making use of tackles as seamen."*

The Commodore's occupation calling him chiefly on shore, he left the dispatching of the transports, with Sir William Pepperel's regiments for New York, to Captain Mantell, and took up his residence for a few days at Williamsburg, in order that he might be on the spot to forward the views of General Braddock and the Governors of the different provinces.

As soon as the army had landed, and the troops were in readiness to march, a meeting was held by General Braddock and Commodore Keppel, at which the Governors of Virginia, New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, attended, in order to consider the state of the colony, and to form a plan of operations for the summer's campaign.

The Governors complained of the supineness of

* Extract from a letter from Commodore Keppel to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated Hampton, 14th March, 1755.

the inhabitants, who could not be persuaded to grant supplies for carrying on the war. "One Colonel Johnson,"* as Keppel calls him, was ordered to take a present of 800*l.* to the Indians, as a bribe to induce them "to take up the hatchet." It was also deemed expedient that two vessels should be built to protect his Majesty's subjects and rights on Lake Ontario, as well as to support the forces which were to be employed in the attack of Niagara.

As these arrangements were more immediately in the department of the Naval Commander, the Commodore undertook to render all the assistance in his power. The other points of deliberation related to the destination of the different divisions of the army. It was determined that General Braddock should take two British regiments, three Independent companies, and about 600 Provincials, and march over the Alleghany mountains, in order to attack Fort Du Quesne, and the other forts which the French had erected on the Ohio and near Lake Erie. Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperel† were to attack the French fort at Niagara; Colonel Monckton, the fort on the isthmus

* Towards the close of the year he was created a baronet, and a grant of 5000*l.* was voted him as a reward for his services. He was afterwards chosen colonel of the Six Nations, and superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern parts of America. He died in 1774.

† He commanded an army of 3850 volunteers in the successful expedition against Louisbourg.

of Acadia; and Colonel Johnson, on his return from his embassy, was to take with him 5000 Provincials, and attack the French at Crown Point.

Little of interest occurred till they arrived at the scene of action. On one occasion, six and twenty deserters came over from the French, but six of them afterwards endeavouring to escape, were taken, and the plan of a fort we had recently built being found in the possession of one of them, he was instantly hanged upon the nearest tree.

While General Braddock advanced but slowly, for want of waggons, horses, and provisions, towards Fort Du Quesne, Keppel was employed in preventing supplies being imported for the French, and in giving directions for building the two schooners on Lake Ontario.

In a letter to the Admiralty, of July the 6th, the Commodore writes—"The people in the back settlements are in such alarm and apprehension, from a few straggling Indians and French, that have barbarously cut off three or four families in Virginia, and as many in Maryland, that the accounts which probably will go from this country to England, may alarm the nation more than, in my opinion, they may merit. The number of Indians that have so imprudently committed this act, are not supposed to be above fifty, and some few French among them. But the alarm has been so great, that 150 women and children have fled from

their plantations to a mill, which is enclosed round, in such a manner as to make those poor people imagine themselves tolerably safe . . . . . .

"By the last accounts from the army, which were of the 22nd past, the General had determined to get forward with about a thousand of his best troops, and a very small part of his artillery, leaving the rest to be brought forward by the remainder of the army, as fast as the nature of such a large number of waggons will admit of.

"I don't find the General has sent any parties whatever after these troublesome Indians; his not doing it, will in all probability be a disappointment to the French, at least in my opinion it will; for I cannot help thinking they have sent the Indians so near in order to tempt him to weaken his army, by sending detachments after them."

The French, during these transactions, were busily engaged in equipping a powerful fleet, at Brest, to send out to America; and the British Government, which had received information of their design, dispatched Admiral Boscawen, with eleven sail of the line, to take the chief command on the American coast. At the latter end of July, he arrived off the Banks of Newfoundland. Keppel, about the same time, received a letter from the Admiralty, apprising him of Boscawen's appointment, and stating that the wearing a broad pendant, and having a captain under him, was a dis-

tinction no longer proper to be continued, since several ships of the new squadron were commanded by captains senior to himself. He was therefore directed to repair on board one of the frigates, and lose no time in returning to England.

Keppel received this order just in time to carry home the intelligence that his coadjutor, General Braddock, had been killed, and the force he had commanded surprised and put to the rout. The following three letters, one of them from an eye-witness, relate to the disastrous result of this expedition:—

HORATIO SHARPE, ESQ., TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

" Bladensburg, on Patowmack, July 23rd, 1755.

" My Lord,—I am sorry to have such an occasion to write, but as we have a ship just about to sail, I embrace the opportunity to acquaint you that I have this instant received a letter from Captain Orme,* who is at Fort Cumberland, ill of his wounds, in which he gives me a brief account of the unfortunate engagement between the troops commanded by General Braddock and the French from Fort Duquesne, on the 9th instant. In the

* Walpole states that Braddock " was at last brought off by two Americans, no English daring, though Captain Orme, his aid-de-camp —who is wounded too, and has made some noise here by an affair of gallantry— offered sixty guineas to have him conveyed away."— Walpole's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 143.

Captain Orme married the sister of George, Lord Townshend, without the consent of her family.—*Note* by the Editor.

morning of that day, the General crossed the Monongahela twice, the last time about seven miles from the French fort. A party of 300 men having passed the river, advanced towards the fort, and was followed by another of 200. The General, with the column of artillery, baggage, and main body of the army, got over about one o'clock, when they heard a very quick and heavy fire in the front. The General and the main body immediately advanced, in order to sustain them, but the two advanced detachments giving way and falling back on the main body, caused great confusion, and the men were struck with such a panic that no military expedient which could be used afterwards had any effect; they were deaf to the exhortations of the General and the officers, who, advancing sometimes in bodies, and sometimes separately, were sacrificed by the soldiers declining to follow them. The General had five horses shot under him before he received a wound through his right arm into the lungs, of which he died the fourth day after. Sir Peter Halket* and the General's secretary† were killed on the spot. Sir John Sinclair is wounded, but there is room to hope he will recover.

"The enclosed is a particular account of the officers that fell, and of those that survived the

* His youngest son also fell in this engagement.

† Governor Shirley's eldest son.

action. The number of private sentinels killed and wounded is about 600.

"At the Little Meadows, which lie about twenty-five miles westward from Fort Cumberland, the General finding it impracticable for all the troops to advance farther together, selected 1200 of the best, and proceeded with the necessary artillery, ammunition, and provisions, leaving the main body of the convoy under the command of Colonel Dunbar, who had orders to join him as soon as possible.

" I collect from some former letters which I received from the camp, that the General had four howitzers, four twelve-pounders, two six-pounders, and fourteen cohorns, with him, which, with the ammunition, baggage, and provisions, are fallen into the hands of the enemy.

" When Colonel Dunbar, who, I have reason to apprehend, was about forty miles behind the General, was apprised of this fatal accident, finding the troops extremely reduced and weakened by this action and sickness, he judged it impossible to attempt anything with them at that time with a probability of success, and is therefore returning to Fort Cumberland, with everything that he is able to bring; but as his horses were reduced and much enfeebled, and many carriages wanted for the wounded men, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, he has destroyed most of the

ammunition and the superfluous provision that was left to his care.

"Captain Orme does not describe to me the place where the battle happened, how great was the number of the enemy, or whether they consisted principally of regular troops or Indians.

"When I received this account, I was on my way to Fort Cumberland, with a number of gentlemen and volunteers, who had entered into an association to bear arms and protect our frontiers, where Indian parties have lately done much mischief. I shall now halt a little, and expend a sum of money, which the council and gentlemen of the country had subscribed, upon the Assembly's refusal at their last meeting to grant any supplies, in purchasing a quantity of fresh provisions, and such things as I think necessary for the troops, and then escort them, with such men as I can persuade to join me, to Fort Cumberland, where I expect to find Colonel Dunbar by that time arrived.

"It grieves me to see near 20,000 men in this province fit to bear arms, and yet for want of an effectual militia law, which has been frequently recommended to our Assembly in vain, I cannot oblige a hundred of them to escort any provisions to the fort, or even to act in their own defence.

"I am, with great respect, &c.,

"HOR. SHARPE."

FROM COLONEL GAGE* TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"Will's Creek, or Fort Cumberland, July 24th, 1755.

"My Lord,—We are arrived here with the remainder of our army, since our unfortunate defeat on the 9th instant, within a few miles of Fort Du Quesne. As I imagine you would be glad to have some particulars of that action, I will give you the best account I can draw from so confused an affair.

"General Braddock marched from this place with all his forces, escorting the whole convoy of provisions, ammunition, &c., to a place called the Little Meadows, about twenty-three miles from hence; and finding he had made but very slow progress, chose a detachment of 1200 men, and proceeded towards the French fort as fast as possible, taking with him two six-pounders, four twelve-pounders, and four howitzers; the remainder was left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, to follow with all convenient speed.

* General the Hon. Thomas Gage, second son to the first Viscount Gage, and grandfather to the present Lord, was born 1721. In 1764, he succeeded Sir Jeffrey Amherst in the chief command in America, and in 1774, became Governor of Massachusetts. On the 18th of April, the following year, he sent a force of 800 men to take possession of some military stores which the colonists had collected in the neighbourhood of Boston. At two in the morning, the royal troops encountered a body of the Lexington militia, fired upon them, and killed three or four of their men. This was the breaking out of the American war! The provincial congress of Massachusetts declared Gage an enemy to the colony, and released the inhabitants from all obligation to obey him. In October of the same year, the General returned to England. He died in 1787.

The night before the action, I received orders to march the next morning by three o'clock, with two companies of Grenadiers, and 150 men; to pass the Monongahela,—to march on the other side, till I should come opposite the place where Frazer's house formerly stood, then repass the river, and post myself on the most convenient spot I should find. These orders were executed without any opposition from the enemy; and I remained on the post we had taken till Sir John Sinclair, who followed me with the working party, came up to me, and the General with the main body was passing the last ford. I then received orders to march on till three o'clock. We had scarcely marched a quarter of a mile from the river, when the guides, who were the only outscouts we had, brought word that the French or Indians were coming. Upon which, the guard in our van came to the right-about, but, by the activity of the officer who commanded them, were stopped from running in, and prevailed on to face again. The detachment was ordered to fix their bayonets, and form in order of battle, with intention of gaining a hill upon our right, which was partly already possessed by an officer's party that was scouring our right flank. The first was obeyed in a good deal of hurry, but none of them would stir to the posts assigned them. Though I had all the assistance that could be expected from the officers, not one platoon could

be prevailed upon to stir from its line of march, and a visible terror and confusion appeared amongst the men.

By this time, some few shots were fired on the parties who were on the right and left flanks, on which the whole detachment made ready, and notwithstanding all the opposition made by the officers, they threw away their fire, when, I am certain, scarcely two of the men could be seen by them. This fire killed several of our men on the flanking parties, who came running in on the detachment, as did also the vanguard, which completed our confusion. The enemy took advantage of it by coming round us covered by trees, behind which they fired with such success, that most of the officers were in a short time killed or wounded, as also many of the men, and the rest gave way. We found Sir John Sinclair's working party in the same confusion, as also the main body under General Braddock. The same infatuation attended the whole; none would form a line of battle, and the whole army was very soon mixed together, twelve or fourteen deep, firing away at nothing but trees, and killing many of our own men and officers. The cannon was soon deserted by those that covered them. The artillery did their duty perfectly well, but, from the nature of the country, could do little execution.

General Braddock tried all methods to draw the

men out of this confusion, made several efforts to recover the cannon, as also to drive the enemy from our flanks, as likewise to gain possession of the hill already mentioned. Some few men were at times prevailed on to draw out for this purpose, but before they had marched twenty yards, would fall back to a line of march by files, and proceed to attack in this manner, till an officer, or perhaps a man or two, should be struck down, and then the rest immediately gave way; the men would never make one bold attack, though encouraged to it by the enemy always giving way, whenever they advanced even on the most faint attack.

"In this manner the affair continued about two hours and a half, when many of the men began to go off, and the General was wounded; what remained, was to endeavour to cover the retreat of the ammunition and provisions, but those that drove the horses went off with them. The men that covered the wagons went off by tens and twenties, till reduced to a very small body, which, receiving a fire from the enemy, went to the right-about, and the whole were put to flight.

"The General was saved by the dexterity of his servants, but all other marks of our disgrace were left upon the field; all our artillery, ammunition, and provisions fell to the enemy's share. It was impossible to rally any body of men for a considerable time, and the General was defended by very

few but officers in his repassing the river. Some bodies of men were with difficulty rallied at different distances, who waited till the General came up, and then marched on with him all that night and all the next day, when we were joined by two companies of Grenadiers, and some provisions from Colonel Dunbar's detachment, and the whole joined the next day.

"I have given your Lordship the best account I am able of this shameful affair, and refer you to the public account for a list of the killed and wounded.* General Braddock died the fourth night after the action. Sir Peter Halket was killed in the field. I hope his Royal Highness† will think me worthy of succeeding Sir Peter in his regiment, as I was the eldest lieutenant-colonel in the action, and should have been appointed colonel to it by General Braddock, had he lived a few days longer. I likewise flatter myself of his protection for the officers of the regiment succeeding to the commissions vacant by this action, as I can with truth assure you, no officers ever behaved better, or men worse. I can't ascribe their behaviour to any other cause than the talk of the country people, ever since our arrival in America—the woodsmen and

* "Our disappointment," says Walpole, "is greater than our loss; six and twenty officers are killed, who, I suppose, have not left many fatherless and *widowless*, as an old woman told me to-day with great tribulation."—Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 145.

† Duke of Cumberland.

Indian traders, who were continually telling the soldiers, that if they attempted to fight Indians in a regular manner, they would certainly be defeated. These discourses were prevented as much as possible, and the men, in appearance, seemed to shew a thorough contempt for such an enemy; but I fear they gained too much upon them. I have since talked to the soldiers about their scandalous behaviour, and the only excuse I can get from them is, that they were quite dispirited, from the great fatigue they had undergone, and not receiving a sufficient quantity of food; and further, that they did not expect the enemy would come down so suddenly.

"I hope Colonel Keppel is perfectly recovered; I beg my compliments to him, and wish you all health and happiness.

"I am, with great regard, &c.,

"THOMAS GAGE.

"P.S.—Most of the wounded are in a fair way of recovery. I received a slight wound in my belly, which is almost well. Poor Nartlo* was killed."

HORATIO SHARPE, ESQ., TO HIS BROTHER.

"Annapolis, 11th August, 1755.

"DEAR BROTHER,—The 23rd of July I gave you as particular an account as I had been able to get

* An ensign in Sir Peter Halket's regiment.

of the fatal engagement that happened between the English troops, commanded by General Braddock, and the Indians and French, from Fort du Quesne, on the 9th of that month.

" It was, I think, as extraordinary a defeat as ever was heard of. 'Tis supposed that the Indians, who that day opposed General Braddock, were not less than fifteen hundred, or two thousand, yet none of the English that were engaged saw more than a hundred; and many of the officers, as well as men, who were the whole time of its continuance in the heat of the action, will not assert that they saw an enemy.

" When the detachment of 300, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Gage, were beyond the river, about three quarters of a mile, they were fired on from an eminence or small hill which they were about to ascend; upon which they returned the fire, and halted till Sir John Sinclair, with the detachment of 200, came up. The General immediately hurried on the main body to sustain them, while the enemy, who consisted almost entirely of Indians, extended themselves all along the hill, which was on the General's right flank, and posting themselves severally behind the large trees that grow thereon, fired in security, and did great execution.

" The novelty of such fighting struck our troops with amazement and terror. They found themselves destroyed by an invisible enemy, and were

soon thrown into the greatest confusion; and some companies that attempted to ascend the hill were broke by the fire of their friends, who confounded them with the enemy. In this melancholy situation the men were kept more than three hours, when, having consumed all their ammunition, they retired in the greatest disorder, and left the field and everything thereon to the enemy, who did not attempt to pursue them, but immediately fell to scalping those that were killed, or unable to get off, and then returned with the artillery and plunder to the French fort.

The General had, unhappily, all his papers, his Majesty's instructions, and the plan of operations that was concerted at Alexandria, with him, which fell into the enemy's hands.

"A prisoner, who is escaped thence, asserts that the second day after the battle, a great number of Indians departed from the fort, with a design, as he supposes by their route, to give Governor Shirley a meeting at Niagara.

"I think the General had with him fifty-two carriages, the artillery, and eighteen wagon-loads of ammunition included, besides one hundred beeves, that had been driven up to him two days before. As soon as he was brought back to Colonel Dunbar's camp, he gave orders for the destruction of all the ammunition and artillery that Dunbar had with him, (except two six-pounders,) and all the

superfluous provision. In pursuance of these orders, near 150 waggons were burnt, the powder-casks staved in a spring, the cohorns broke or buried, and the shells bursted; the provisions were scattered abroad on the ground, or the barrels broke and thrown into the water. Soon after this was executed, the General dying, was buried privately in the road, and Colonel Dunbar immediately retreated to Fort Cumberland, where he stayed nine or ten days, and then marched for Philadelphia; there, I suppose, he will expect letters and instructions from Governor Shirley how to dispose of himself till he can receive farther directions from home for his conduct.

"In case of another campaign against Fort du Quesne, I am of opinion there ought to be two, or at least one, thousand of our woodsmen or hunters, who are marksmen and used to rifles, to precede the army, and engage the Indians in their own way.

"I am,

"Your most obliged and affectionate brother,

"HOR. SHARPE."

The memory of few men has laboured under greater reproach than that of the unfortunate Braddock. Neither his gallant conduct, nor his untimely death could arrest the tongue of slander.*

* Walpole, the great gossip-dealer of the last century, describes Braddock as "a man desperate in his fortunes, brutal in his behaviour, obstinate in his resentments, intrepid, and capable." "He is," says

That he was a brave man, no one who has read the foregoing letters, will, it is presumed, entertain a doubt. Many previous acts had testified his courage. If any proof were wanting, it is only necessary to allege the coolness with which, in his last moments, he ordered the destruction of the ammunition and provisions. The contempt he entertained for the American troops prevented him from availing himself of the local information which many of the provincial officers might have afforded him. At the time of his death, he was on bad terms with his two colonels, and not above four or five of the officers appear to have regretted his loss. For Commodore Keppel he entertained a sincere respect and regard, and in his official letters expressed his gratification "in being asso-

the same writer, in one of his letters, "a very Iroquois in disposition. He had a sister, who, having gamed away all her little at Bath, hanged herself, with a truly English deliberation, leaving a note upon the table, with these lines:—

'To die, is landing on some silent shore,' &c.

When Braddock was told of it, he only said, 'Poor Fanny! I always thought she would play till she would be forced to *tuck herself up.*'" In another place, he says, "I have already given you some account of Braddock. I may complete the poor man's history in a few more words. He once had a duel with Colonel Gumley, Lady Bath's brother, who had been his great friend. As they were going to engage, Gumley, who had good humour and wit, (Braddock had the latter,) said, 'Braddock, you are a poor dog! here, take my purse; if you kill me, you will be forced to run away, and then you will not have a shilling to support you.' Braddock refused the purse, and insisted upon the duel; was disarmed, and would not even ask his life." —Walpole's Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 144.

ciated with an officer of Mr. Keppel's abilities and good disposition." That this feeling was reciprocal, appears from the terms in which the Commodore mentions his loss.

The regret with which Keppel received the intelligence of this defeat was heightened by the account, that Lieutenant Spendelow and Mr. Talbot, whom he sent with the sailors to assist the troops, had fallen in the engagement. Both these officers had served with him as midshipmen, on board the Centurion, while he was in the command of the Mediterranean squadron.

As soon as Keppel had given the necessary orders for his squadron to join Admiral Boscawen, he shifted his Commodore's pendant on board the Sea Horse, Captain Palliser, and on the 26th of July sailed for England. It was on board this ship that that friendship commenced between Keppel and the Captain of the Sea Horse, which was destined to be marred in so extraordinary a manner in after years.

The Commodore arrived in England on the 22nd of August. War had not been formally declared between England and France, yet the most vigorous preparations were making in all our dockyards, to equip the ships of the line for active service. Four days after his arrival, Keppel received directions to proceed to Chatham, and commission the Swiftsure, of seventy guns. He re-

mained for a short time in the Downs, and in the autumn was sent to Spithead.

On the 10th of January, 1756, he removed to the Torbay, of seventy-four guns. In this ship, of which he had the command for upwards of five years, he was destined to have an extraordinary degree of good fortune.

CHAPTER VII.

CRUISING — COURT-MARTIAL ON ADMIRAL BYNG — KEPPEL'S INEFFECTUAL EFFORTS TO SAVE HIM.

France threatens an invasion—Alarm of the British government—Admiral Byng appointed to the Mediterranean fleet—Its inefficient state—Keppel dispatched with a squadron—His equipment injurious to Byng's expedition—Keppel cruises off Cape Finisterre, and captures three French ships—Night engagement with a French frigate—Return to England—Junior member of the court-martial upon Byng—Remarks upon the finding and sentence of that tribunal—Proceedings in parliament after the trial—Keppel's ineffectual efforts to save Byng—Execution of that Admiral.

1756 TO 1757.

IN the beginning of this year, the French publicly declared their intention of invading the electorate of Hanover, and even of making Great Britain itself the seat of war. This announcement was intended to divert the attention of our government from their actual design of making a descent upon the island of Minorca.

The stratagem was completely successful. Ministers kept nearly the whole of their ships at home, sent no fleet to the Mediterranean until it was too late, and in a paroxysm of terror issued a proclamation ordering that, in case of an attempt at invasion, all horses and other beasts of burthen should "be

driven and removed at least twenty miles from where such attempt should be made."

Yet it was not for want of timely warning that the British government neglected to take the necessary steps for averting the threatened danger. So far back as the month of September in the preceding year, intelligence had been received that a large naval armament was fitting out at Toulon, and in the middle of January, the British consul at Genoa informed the government that this force was destined to act against Minorca.

The notice, however, was disregarded. Ministers were thrown into such consternation by the prospect of an invasion, that they allowed several weeks to elapse before they yielded to the universal cry of the nation, and sent orders to Portsmouth for the fitting out of a fleet. This fleet it was the ill fate of Admiral Byng to command.

The Admiral received his appointment on the 15th of March, and on the 21st hoisted his flag on board the Ramillies. Of the ten ships originally destined to form his fleet, seven only, including the flag-ship, were with him at Spithead, two were in the harbour fitting out, and the other had not yet come round from the Nore. Seven hundred and twenty-three men were wanting to complete his equipment; but so far from assistance being afforded him by the government, he was on his arrival at Portsmouth forbidden, "on any account, to meddle with the Torbay, Essex, or Nassau," all ships of the line, which were wanted, as he was informed, "on the most pressing service;" and a few days afterwards, he was ordered

immediately to despatch Captain Keppel to sea, with a squadron consisting of the Torbay, Essex, Iris, Antelope, and Gibraltar, and to furnish him with what men he might require out of the Nassau. The Admiral was directed to supply his own deficiency of men from the hospitals, and from tenders which were expected to arrive with pressed men from Liverpool and Ireland.

It afterwards appeared that this "most pressing service" on which Captain Keppel was employed, and which occupied eight days in the execution, might have been equally well performed by vessels of an inferior rate, it being merely to watch the motions of four French frigates, which the Windsor had chased into Cherbourg Roads.

If Byng, immediately on his appointment, had been allowed to complete his equipment from Keppel's ships, or had Keppel's squadron itself been attached to his fleet, he might have arrived in ample time, and with a sufficient force, to enable us to keep possession of Minorca, since it was not until the 19th of April that the French effected a descent upon that island. Keppel having fulfilled his instructions, returned to Spithead on the 9th of April, three days after Byng had sailed. Had Keppel even then been sent with his squadron to reinforce the Mediterranean fleet, he might have enabled the Admiral to afford effectual assistance to that part of the island which was still in the hands of the English. This was not done. Keppel was despatched on the 16th with a small squadron under Admiral Holborne, to cruise off Brest. This force was shortly afterwards increased

to eighteen sail of the line, and the command given to Sir Edward Hawke. The Torbay having sustained some damage, Keppel was ordered into harbour to refit. When again ready for sea, he joined the Brest fleet; but an epidemic soon after breaking out in his ship, he was ordered to return to Portsmouth.

On the first of August he anchored at Spithead; and having sent his sick men to the hospital, removed the Torbay into Portsmouth harbour. On the 18th September, Keppel received orders to take the Rochester and Harwich under his command, and to cruise in the latitude of Finisterre. He put to sea on the 30th; and as soon as he arrived on his station, directed one of his ships to cruise within fifty, and the other within ninety, leagues of the land. This disposition of his force, which considerably increased the chances of falling in with the enemy's ships, was, however, unattended with success.

On the 22nd of November, he ordered the Harwich to proceed to Lisbon, and the Rochester to call at Cadiz. Two days after these ships had parted company, Keppel captured the Diligent, a French snow, bound to the West Indies; but it blowing a heavy gale at the time, he was unable to take possession until the following day. Immediately afterwards, he fell in with a large French store-ship, the Anna Sophia, from Quebec, with English prisoners. On removing them to the Torbay, he had the gratification of finding that he had rescued Captains Broadley and Laforey, the two officers he had appointed, while in command of the American squadron, to the schooners ordered to be built on Lake Ontario. They had been taken

prisoners at the surrender of Oswego, and, with 106 of the garrison of that place, were on their way to France. Scarcely had he taken possession of this prize, when another fell in his way, the Mary of Liverpool, an English snow that had been taken by a French privateer, and was then bound to Bayonne. Almost at the same time he discovered a French man-of-war, to which he instantly gave chase. The evening closed in before he could get her sufficiently within range of his guns; but a brisk cannonade was kept up during the night from the Torbay's chace guns; the fire was returned with equal spirit by the Frenchman, who, as usual, directed his fire mainly at his adversary's rigging. At daylight, the Torbay poured her whole broadside into the chace, and compelled her to strike. She proved to be the Chariot Royale of thirty-six guns, a fine French frigate, bound to Louisbourg, to reinforce the garrison. She had several men killed and wounded.

On the 9th of December the Commodore returned with his prizes to England.

A duty now devolved upon Keppel, the painful nature of which was fully shewn by his subsequent conduct. Admiral Byng had failed in his attempt to relieve Minorca, and had been superseded in his command.* He was now brought a prisoner to Ports-

* Admirals Hawke and Saunders replaced Byng and West in the Mediterranean fleet, and Lords Tyrawley and Panmure succeeded Generals Blakeney and Fowke in their respective governments of Minorca and Gibraltar. This "little cargo of courage," as these officers are somewhere called, was stowed away in the Antelope, a frigate of fifty guns, the fears of an invasion preventing Government from furnishing a larger vessel. Lord Tyrawley, in a letter to Lord Albemarle, dated Spithead, June 15, 1756,

mouth, to take his trial, Keppel was the junior member of that tribunal by whose unanimous verdict he was doomed to die. The court, which assembled on the 27th Dec., was composed of the following members:—

PRESIDENT.

Vice-Admiral Thomas Smith.

Rear-Admiral Fras. Holburne.	Captain Peter Davis.
Rear-Admiral Thos. Brodrick.	Captain Francis Geary.
Rear-Admiral Harry Norris.	Captain John Moore.
Captain Charles Holmes.	Captain James Douglas.
Captain William Boys.	Captain The Hon. Augustus Keppel.
Captain John Simcoe.	
Captain John Bentley.	

After a lapse of eighty-five years, public opinion has hardly yet decided upon the case of Byng. Sir John Barrow, a writer, who, from his office, is necessarily conversant with such subjects, speaks somewhat slightingly of the conduct of that Admiral; and Mr. Croker, another high authority in naval matters, goes so far as to say that Byng deserved his fate. The writer of this memoir has arrived at a different conclusion. He thinks that in Clerk's "Naval Tactics" the failure of the action with Galissonière is satisfactorily shewn to be attributable to the "Fighting Instructions" then in force, and in no degree to the commander in that disastrous engagement.

enumerates the ships of the line which "are under no destination, but to lie at anchor, and at stated times to go into the harbour to clean. We have," he continues, "little more for it than our heels, which, I am told, are not to lay the odds upon. Here are two admirals, two general officers, four sea captains, and many more officers belonging to ships in the Mediterranean, all stuffed into this small ship; and surely, my dear Lord, we should make a very queer figure to be carried into Brest, and be detained there the whole war."—Lord Albemarle's MSS.

To shew more clearly this position, let us take a cursory glance at the leading events of the action, and then examine the reasons assigned by the court for the sentence it awarded.

The two fleets were nearly equal as to the number of ships, but the French had a greater number of guns, a heavier weight of metal, and nearly two thousand five hundred men more than the British. Byng had a thousand sick on board his fleet; he was unprovided with either hospital or store ship, and of his twelve ships of the line, eight were foul, old, or crippled, while the French were, on the admission of the Duc de Richelieu their own commander-in-chief, "much better furnished, and cleaner."

On the 20th of May, at one in the afternoon, the British fleet having gained the weather-gauge, tacked, and bore down in a slanting direction, in conformity with the 19th Article of the Fighting Instructions then in force, which directed the van of our fleet "to steer with the van of the enemy's, and there to engage." The French, who were lying to, poured their broadsides into our ships as they respectively came within range. The captain of the Intrepid, the sixth ship in the British line, eager for action, bore down right before the wind, upon his destined antagonist. By this movement, he increased the disadvantages inseparable from a windward attack. Before he could come to close action, his ship had lost her fore-topmast, and, becoming unmanageable, produced much disorder amongst the ships astern—some endeavouring to go to windward, and others to leeward of the

Intrepid. Admiral Byng, who was in the tenth ship in the line, finding "one ship on his lee-bow, and another right a-head of him,"* backed his topsails. At this juncture he was advised by Gardiner, his flag captain, to bear away, as Admiral Matthews had done in 1744; but Byng, who had been one of the court that condemned Matthews, replied, "It was that officer's misfortune to be prejudiced by not carrying his force down together, which he should endeavour to avoid."†

The delay occasioned by the Intrepid's disaster lasted seven or eight minutes, when Byng's division again continued their course, and endeavoured to renew the action. It was, however, too late; the French, profiting by the disorder in our line, poured their broadsides into our crippled ships of the van, and then formed a new line, three miles to leeward.

On the 24th, the Admiral called a council of war, consisting of every naval and military officer of rank present in the fleet, when it was unanimously resolved, that instead of seeking another engagement in their present disabled condition, "the fleet should immediately proceed to Gibraltar."

To Gibraltar, accordingly, the fleet went; and the admiral was nearly ready for sea, when he was superseded in his command, and sent home a prisoner, to take his trial.

The court-martial came to thirty-seven "Resolutions;" but the thirteen following comprise the "*opinions*" of that tribunal:—

* Minutes of Court Martial. † Ibid. p. 75.

RESOLUTIONS.	REMARKS.
v.	
Unanimously.—The Court are of opinion, that the Admiral proceeded properly, upon discovery of the French Fleet, to stand towards them.	
VII.	VII.
Twelve yeas for all the officers; one, for general and field officers only. The Court are of opinion that as so *great a number of officers* were on board the Fleet,* belonging to the Garrison of St. Philip's, where they must necessarily be much wanted, the Admiral *ought to have put them on board one of the frigates he sent ahead, in order to have been landed, if found practicable;* and if not landed before he saw the French Fleet, he ought to have left the frigate, to have endeavoured to land them; notwithstanding he did see the enemy's fleet.	This opinion is at variance with the evidence. Admiral West says, "As I suppose the Garrison of St. Philip's was to look upon the English Fleet as its protection, *the weakening the force of the fleet would be highly inexcusable.*"†—See also the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Colonel Smith, and Captain Edgar upon this point.
VIII.	VIII.
Unanimously.—It appears, from the time of first seeing the French Fleet in the morning of the 19th of May, till our Fleet weathered the French about noon of the 20th, the Admiral took *proper measures to gain and keep the wind of the enemy, and to form and close the line of battle.*	To this proceeding, which called forth the approval of the Court, may be attributed the indecisive nature of Byng's action. Had the Admiral, instead of striving "to gain and keep the wind of the enemy," in order to bear down upon their whole force, made his attack from the leeward upon one or more portions of their fleet, far different results might be reasonably expected.‡

* Major General Stuart, and about thirty officers.

† Byng's Court-martial, p. 20.

‡ In this remark, condemnatory of *bearing down* to engage, the writer refers only to the old system of so gaining the weather-gauge, for the

RESOLUTIONS.	REMARKS.
XI.	XI.
Unanimously.—The Court are of opinion, that when the British fleet, on the starboard tack, were stretched abreast, or about the beam of the enemy's line, *the Admiral should have tacked the Fleet altogether, and immediately have conducted it on a direct course* for the enemy; the van steering for the enemy's van, the rear for their rear, each ship for her opposite ship in the enemy's line, and *under such a sail as might have enabled the worst sailing ship, under all her plain sail, to preserve her station.*	In other words, that the Admiral should have imitated the example of the Intrepid, the immediate cause of the failure. It is obvious, that if Admiral Byng had so acted, the result would have been still more disastrous to the British fleet. The easy sail which the Court considered so necessary, would have only rendered the matter worse, by prolonging the time that the fleet would have been subjected to a raking fire.
XIX.	XIX.
Unanimously.—It is the opinion of the Court, that the Admiral, after the signal was made for battle, *separated* the rear from the van division, and retarded the rear division of the British Fleet from closing with, and engaging the enemy, by his shortening sail—by hauling up his foresail—backing his mizen-topsail, and backing, or at-	How could Admiral Byng be said to have "*separated* the rear from the van division," when his ship was the fifth astern of that whence such a separation took place. In fact, the XXV. Resolution itself contradicts the XIX, for it there states that "*the Trident, and ships immediately a-head of the Ramillies* (Byng's ship) *proved*

purpose of *ranging along the enemy's line*, and expresses no opinion as to whether it is preferable to attack from the windward or leeward, when the object is to *break the line.* Both these modes have their advocates. The choice, however, is not always afforded. The attack from the weather gauge, though attended with great advantages, offers many objections: an enemy, nearly equal in skill and courage, has it in his power to disable the foremost ships, before the rear can come to their support. The battles of Camperdown, the Nile, and Trafalgar, may be all cited as examples of successful attacks from the windward; but in none of these cases was the option left to either Duncan or Nelson. At Trafalgar, the Victory (Nelson's ship) had fifty men killed or wounded, and her mizen-mast and steering-sails shot away, before she returned a single shot.—(See "Ekins' Battles," where this subject is discussed.)

RESOLUTIONS.	REMARKS.
tempting to back, his main-topsail, —in order that the Trident and Princess Louisa might get a-head again of the Ramillies.	*an impediment to the Ramillies continuing to go down.*"
XX.	XX.
Unanimously.—It is the opinion of the Court, that instead of *shortening sail*, the Admiral ought to have made the Trident and Princess Louisa signals to make more sail; and that he ought also to have set so much sail himself, as would have enabled the *Culloden*, the worst sailing ship in his division, to have kept her station with all her plain sail set, in order to have got down with as much expedition as possible to the enemy, and thereby have properly supported the van division.	Contrary to evidence, Captain Gardiner* said, that "going down with the sail the Admiral went, was the regular method; that he could not have closed the enemy by more sail, sooner than in the way he went." See also the evidence of James Worth, *first lieutenant of the Culloden.*
XXV.	XXV.
Unanimously.—The Court are of opinion, that while the Ramilies was firing, in going down, the Trident, and the ships immediately ahead of the Ramillies, *proved an impediment to the Ramillies* continuing to go down.	See remarks on the nineteenth resolution.

* The fate of his Commander affected Gardiner with a melancholy which was never effaced during his life. Soon after the trial, he was appointed to the Monmouth, a sixty-four gun-ship, and by a curious coincidence fell in with and captured the Foudroyant, of eighty guns; the ship in which Galissonière had hoisted his flag, in his encounter with Byng. This was the most gallant action of the war. Gardiner was wounded in the arm and forehead, and died the day following. Colonel Crawford, writing from Gibraltar to Lord Albemarle, says,—"The having seen the Foudroyant and Monmouth together, gives a higher idea of the action than anything I am able to describe to your Lordship: in the style of a sailor who has just passed me, 'it was like the Monument overlooking a nine-pin.'"—(Lord Albemarle's MS.)

RESOLUTIONS.

XXVI.

Unanimously.—The Court are of opinion, that the Admiral acted wrong in directing the firing of the Ramillies to be continued, *before he had placed her at a proper distance from the enemy;* as he thereby not only threw away shot uselessly, but occasioned a smoke which prevented his seeing the motions of the enemy, and the position of the ships immediately ahead of the Ramillies.

REMARKS.

XXVI.

Contrary to evidence, which goes to prove that *he was "at a proper distance from the enemy"* when he began to fire.

Captain Hervey deposed—"It was about fifty minutes after two, when the Ramillies began to fire, having before that received the fire of the three sternmost ships of the enemy for about ten or twelve minutes, in which time I observed several of the enemy's shot to fall *between the Ramillies and the ship I commanded.*" The shot must therefore have passed over the Ramillies.

Captain Durell's evidence is to the same effect.

XXXII.

Unanimously.—The Court are of opinion, that after the ships which had received damage in the action, were as much refitted as circumstances would permit, the Admiral ought to have *returned with the squadron off St. Philip's,* and have endeavoured to open a communication with the Castle, and to have used every means in his power for its relief, *before he returned to Gibraltar.*

XXXII.

This opinion is directly opposed to the unanimous resolution of the Council of War, consisting of every flag and field officer with the fleet, as well as of every captain in command of a ship, that it would "be most for his Majesty's service that the fleet should *immediately proceed to Gibraltar;*" a decision imperatively called for by the crippled state of the fleet, as well as by the necessity of defending Gibraltar, to which Byng's instructions particularly pointed.

XXXIII.*

Unanimously.—The Court are of opinion that Admiral Byng did not do his utmost to relieve St. Philip's Castle, in the Island of Minorca, then besieged by the forces of the French king.

* Court-martial, p. 38.

RESOLUTIONS.

XXXIV.

Unanimously.—The Court are of opinion that Admiral Byng, during the engagement between his Majesty's fleet under his command, and the fleet of the French king, on the 20th of May last, did not do his utmost to take, seize, and destroy, the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged in fight with the French ships, which it was his duty to have assisted.

XXXVI.

Unanimously.—Resolved, that the Admiral appears to fall under the following part of the 12th article of the Articles of War, to wit—"or shall not do his utmost to take, or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage; and to assist and relieve all and every of his Majesty's ships which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve."

XXXVII.

Unanimously.—Resolved, as that article positively prescribes Death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the Court, under any variation of circumstances, that he be adjudged to be shot to death, at such time, and on board such ship, as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty shall direct. But as it appears by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Lieutenant-Colonel

REMARKS.

XXXIV., XXXV., XXXVI., AND XXXVII.

Upon this decision, Walpole very properly remarks,—"They (the court-martial) thought the Admiral guilty of an error in judgment; he had not performed all they supposed he might have done; they held him to blame, and then believing that the Article of War intended to inflict death on all kinds of blame, they considered under what chapter of blame to rank Mr. Byng's error. *Disaffection* it was not. *Cowardice* it was not. The Article named but a third species, and that being *neglect*, these honest men agreed that a want of judgment was nearest relative to neglect, and for that condemned him."*

In another place the same writer remarks,—"I could not conceive how men could acquit honourably and condemn to death with the same breath. How men could feel

* Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second, vol. ii. p. 125.

RESOLUTIONS.	REMARKS.
Smith, Captain Gardiner, and other officers of the ship who were near the person of the Admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion, either from his countenance or behaviour, but that he gave his orders coolly and distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal courage, and from other circumstances, the Court do not believe that his misconduct arose from either cowardice or disaffection, and do therefore unanimously think it their duty most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy.	so much, and be so insensible at the same instant, and from the prejudice of education which had told me that the law of England understood that its ministers of justice should always be council for the prisoner, I could not comprehend how the members of the court-martial came to think that a small course of the law ought to preponderate for rigour, against a whole body of the same law which they understood to direct them to mercy; and I was still more startled to hear those men urge that their consciences were bound by an oath, which their consciences told them would lead to murder."*

The following relation is principally taken from Horace Walpole's detailed account of what took place in parliament after the condemnation, and prior to the execution, of Admiral Byng:—

"Keppel, a friend of Anson, and one of the judges, grew restless with remorse. Lest those aches of conscience should be contagious, the King was plied with antidotes. Papers were posted up with paltry rhymes, saying—

'Hang Byng,
Or take care of your King.'

"On the 23rd of February, Keppel, Moore, and Denis, three of the court-martial, waited on Lord Temple, and besought him to renew their application to the throne for mercy; and the same day, Sir

* Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second, vol. ii. p. 121.

Francis Dashwood acquainted the House that he intended to move a consideration of the twelfth article."

"25th.—Admiral Norris went to George Grenville, and told him he had something on his conscience which he wanted to utter, and desired Mr. Grenville to apply to the House to absolve them from their oath of secrecy. Grenville did not care to meddle in it. Norris, Keppel, and Moore mentioned it again to him at the Admiralty that morning, and he declining it, Moore said to him, with warmth, 'Then, sir, the Admiral's blood will not lie on us.' It happened that Horace Walpole,* who had taken this affair much to heart, was not then in Parliament, having vacated his seat for Castlerising that he might be chosen at Lynn, by desire of the corporation, in the room of his cousin, become a peer by the death of his father, Lord Walpole. Coming late that day to the House, though not a member, Horace Walpole was told of the application that had been made to Mr. Grenville, and looking for him, to try to engage him to undertake the cause, Walpole was told that Mr. Keppel desired to be absolved from his oath, as well as Norris. Walpole ran up into the gallery, and asked Keppel if it was true; and being true, why he did not move the House himself. Keppel replied, that he was unused to speak in public, but would willingly authorize anybody to make the application for him. 'Oh! sir,' said Walpole, 'I will soon find you somebody,' and hurried him to Fox, who, Walpole fondly imagined, could not in decency refuse such a request,

* Walpole is here speaking of himself.

and who was the more proper from his authority in the House, and as a relation of Mr. Keppel. Fox was much surprised, knew not what to determine, said he was uncertain, and left the House. The time pressed, —the Speaker was going to put the question for the orders of the day, after which no new motion can be made—it was Friday, too—the House would sit neither on Saturday nor Sunday, and but a possibility of two days remained to intercept the execution, which was to be on Monday; and the whole operation of what Keppel should have to say, its effects, the pardon if procured, the dispatch to Portsmouth, and the reprieve, all to be crowded into so few hours! Walpole was in agony what step to take. At that instant he saw Sir Francis Dashwood going up the House; he flew down from the gallery, called Sir Francis, hurried the notification to him, and Sir Francis, with the greatest quickness of tender apprehension, (the Speaker had actually read the question, and put it, while all this was passing,) called out from the floor, before he had time to take his place, 'Mr. Speaker!' and then informed the House of Mr. Keppel's desire that some method might be found of empowering him and the other members of the court-martial to declare what had been their intention in pronouncing Mr. Byng guilty . . . . ."

A debate ensued: "Pitt wished first to see a direct application to the House. He addressed himself to Keppel, wished he would break through his bashfulness and rise; it would be a foundation to him to vote for the bill demanded . . . Keppel rose: Denis, a member of the court-martial, and of Parlia-

ment, was present, but had refused to join Keppel in the application. The latter spoke with great sense and seriousness; declared he did desire to be absolved from his oath; he had something on his mind that he wished to say. Many others of the court-martial had been with him that morning, and exhorted him to make the demand. Sir Richard Lyttelton said, another had been with him to the same end; and read a letter from the president, Admiral Smith, entreating him to move in the same cause.....Lord Strange said, he had always been averse to meddling with Mr. Byng's cause in Parliament; yet it was very difficult to avoid it, now the judges themselves desired it; to refuse this dispensation to them, would be a cruelty his blood ran cold at.....The House behaved with great decency: the Duke of Newcastle's faction with total silence. ..... Campbell, whose natural goodness could not, on a surprise, prefer the wrong side to the tender one, said, he rose from fear of being included in his opinion of the other day. He thought the bill so necessary now, that he wished to have it read three times directly.....George Grenville thought the members of the court-martial might speak without the bill, as their oath only forbad them to divulge the opinion of any single man. Lord George Sackville was of the same opinion. .....Keppel professed he had still doubts whether he could speak without a dispensing act.....Pitt said, he honoured Mr. Keppel for his doubt; wished him to consult with his friends that night, and told him, that in regard to them the House would sit the next day; for himself, he should, in their case, have no hesitation

to speak without the act, as they only desired to tell where it was most proper for them to tell: he hoped they would lay their sentiments at his Majesty's feet the next morning. Some other opinions of no consequence following, Lord George Sackville begged the debate might end, that Mr. Keppel might go immediately and consult his friends. Sir Francis Dashwood said they were not all in town. Mr. Keppel hoped, if the major part were, it would be sufficient....."

"26th.—A Cabinet-council was held, to consider what was proper to be done on Mr. Keppel's demand.....It was determined that sentence should be respited for a fortnight, till the bill could be passed, and his Majesty acquainted with what the members of the court-martial had to say. A temporary reprieve was accordingly dispatched to Portsmouth; and Mr. Pitt the same day delivered a message to the House of Commons, that his Majesty having been informed that a member of that House had in his place declared that he had something of weight to say, had accordingly postponed execution till the matter should be cleared up.....Pitt had no sooner delivered the royal message, than Fox rose cavilling.....*The King having been informed that a member in his place!* Who informed him? Who betrayed to the Crown what was said in Parliament? What minister was so ignorant as to advise the Crown to take notice of having had such intelligence?.....Pitt replied with great indignation, that the time had been too pressing to consult precedents. He had not thought that the life of a man was to be trifled with while clerks were searching records. He had founded

himself on a peculiarity of case; that was its own precedent, and could be so to no other; a precedent that could never be extended but by a wicked Parliament. He had been doing his duty in Parliament the day before; had heard the momentous doubts of Mr. Keppel, and had represented them....."

After some further debate, "Mr. Keppel then said, that the definitions given the day before of the oath had engaged his utmost attention; and he had represented as well as he could, to some of his brethren, what latitude it had been thought they might take in dispensing with it; but they were not altered in the least, and till an absolving act should pass, could say nothing."

"Do they still desire the act? said Lord Strange. Could any body, replied Keppel, mention what weight they had on their minds, and not desire it still? . ."

In the course of the debate on the King's message, "Mr. Pitt declared he would speak very shortly and very clearly; sometimes, he owned, he did speak too warmly.....He defended Mr. Keppel's behaviour, which had sprung from former proceedings, not from solicitation. For himself, he did not wish the Admiral saved out of compassion, but out of justice. .....Like Fox, he had wished for better grounds; but when Mr. Keppel rose and pronounced what he did, it was irresistible. It became the unanimous opinion of the House to yield to his emotions..... Henley, Doddington, Legge, Martin, and Lord George Sackville followed in the debate. Potter brought in the bill, and it was read the first time."

"Mr. Fox then asked Keppel, which of his asso-

ciates had empowered him to make the demand? He named, *Holmes*, *Norris*, *Geary*, and *Moore*. Fox said he asked this, because it was reported that none of the members desired to be absolved from their oath. The bill was read the second time.....Fox moved, and was seconded by Pitt, that the members of the court-martial should be examined on oath. It was then settled that they were to disclose what they had to say only to the King and Council; that they should only tell the motives of their own behaviour, not those of others. George Grenville added a clause, that they should not be obliged to speak if not willing....."

Walpole describes the sensation produced by the proceedings in the House of Commons, and then mentions, that "by the very next day after the bill had been read in the House of Commons, by Sunday evening, it was blazed over the town, that the four sea-officers named by Mr. Keppel disclaimed him, and denied having empowered him to apply in their names. Mr. Pitt was thunderstruck, and well he might; he saw what consequences Fox would draw from this disavowal. Inquiry was made into the truth of the report. Holmes and Geary persisted that they had not commissioned Keppel. Sir Richard Lyttelton, an intimate friend of the latter (Geary), applied to him, and, as Sir Richard himself told me, within an hour after he had seen Geary, begging him to consider the injustice and dishonourableness of retracting what he had authorized Keppel to say; he replied in these very words—'*It will hurt my preferment to tell.....*"

"Monday, 28th. — The bill was reported, and

Potter moved to have it read the third time; when Fox, rising, said he heard some information was going to be given, which ought to precede any progress in the bill. Holmes, a brother of one of the four, said he had heard something had passed on Saturday, which he supposed that the gentleman who had occasioned it would stand up and explain. Keppel rose, and said, he had particularized the names of four, who he understood and did believe had commissioned him to move the House on their behalf; that Holmes had said, 'Sure you mistook me!' Another of them said the same. He argued it with them; they persisted, and said he had mistaken, Holmes adding, 'I am easy in my mind, and desire to say nothing farther;' that he believed it would be useless to call Mr. Holmes; that for Geary, he was not absolutely off nor on, but should have no objection to speak if all were compelled. For the other two, Norris and Moore, they were desirous to abide by what they had said . . . For himself, he (Keppel) thought his honour clear: when he had first spoken, it was from the uneasiness of his mind. He was told his oath did not bind him; he thought it did. If the House would think fit to relieve him, he should be glad. When he signed the sentence, he thought he did right; he had since been startled at what he had done."

"Thus, of the four named, two adhered. One (Geary) did not prove that Keppel mistook him. Whether he mistook Holmes must remain a doubt. Fox assured Mr. Keppel that his character was not affected by what Holmes and Geary had said. The bill, indeed, was affected by it; yet, what he

would have done for five he would do for three—that is, if the three would petition for it."

"Colonel John Fitz William, who had never before opened in Parliament, came with much importance and a list of questions to examine Mr. Keppel; but they were so absurd and indecent, that at every one the House expressed their disgust by a groan..... That every morning he (FitzWilliam) had passed two hours with Keppel, labouring to divert him from his purpose ..... Fox, inferring from Keppel's silence, that there was nothing material to be discovered. Mr. Keppel rose and said he would explain himself as fully as he could. When he signed he thought he did right; he would go farther—no, he had better not—had uneasiness, or would never have signed the letter of intercession; the explanation of the article has increased his inquietude; he had rather it should be thought poor weakness than a desire to give trouble. He concluded with these words:—'*I do think my desire of being at liberty does imply something great, and what his Majesty should know.*' The House was struck. Fox said, 'I am satisfied.'"

An angry debate followed; in the course of which Pitt said, "May I fall when I refuse pity to such a suit as Mr. Keppel's, justifying a man who lies in captivity and the shadow of death! I thank God I feel something more than popularity,—I feel justice!" . . .

Mr. Velters Cornwall rose with great bitterness, called it "an absurd bill," and boasted that "he had formerly moved to leave out those lenient words in the old bill; for," said he, "I saw plainly that no-

body so high as a captain would ever be shot, as long as courts-martial had power to inflict death, or 'such other punishment as to them should seem meet'..... And now, truly, the just sentence that is passed on the most flagrant guilt is interlarded, we are told, with a desire of mercy, which, on doubts arising in the royal breast, is referred to the judges, who pronounce it legal. What follows? A new twig is catched at: one of the court complains, is repentant, wants a new kind of papal authority to clear up his conscience." After continuing for some time in a similar strain, he concluded with saying, "If this unhappy man can himself wish to live, let him drag on a miserable life, under the all-powerful and too benign shelter of the royal prerogative."* He divided the House, when there appeared for the motion, 153; against it, 22. The Bill was then sent to the Lords.

March 1st.—The Lords read the bill, and agreed to examine the members of the court-martial.

"March 2d.—Lord Mansfield took on himself the management of the examination. To combat his ability, and Hardwicke's acrimony, the unhappy Admiral had no friend among the Lords but the Earl of Halifax—honest and well-disposed, but no match for the art of the one, or the overbearingness of the other, and on too good terms with both to oppose them in a manner to do any service; and Lord Temple, circumscribed both in interest and abilities from being useful."

Of the thirteen members of the court-martial, three only, Norris, Moore, and Keppel, appeared desirous

* Cavendish's Parliamentary History, vol. 15, p. 806.

of being absolved from their oath. The two former of these were on intimate terms with Byng's family, but Keppel had only a slight acquaintance with the Admiral, and was bound by political, personal, and family ties, to his accusers. After mentioning the answers of the other members of the Court, Walpole adds:—"Then Keppel appeared. Being asked if he knew anything unjust? after long silence and consideration, he replied, *No.* Whether the sentence was obtained through undue practices? *No.* Whether desirous of the bill? 'Yes, undoubtedly.' Whether he knew anything necessary for the knowledge of the King, and conducive to mercy? Keppel—'I cannot answer that, without particularizing my vote and opinion.' Lord Halifax asked him whether he thought his particular reasons had been asked now? He replied, *No.* He retired."

Walpole comments with some severity upon Keppel, for not having said more before the Lords. His conduct, however, appears to have been consistent throughout. He was desirous of being absolved from his oath; but did not feel authorized to say anything in either house without the dispensation of parliament.

Here ends Keppel's participation in the fate of Byng; but we cannot dismiss the subject without noticing the closing scene of this sad tragedy.

The Admiral was executed on board the Monarch, on the 14th of March. "The preceding evening his friends applied to Mr. Boscawen to have the place of execution changed from the forecastle to the quarter-deck, to which he consented; a circumstance which

gave much satisfaction to the unhappy Admiral, who to the last seemed to think he was wrongfully condemned, but throughout betrayed no fear of death."

"The marines were all drawn up under arms, upon the poop, along the gangways in the waist, and on one side of the quarter-deck. On the other side of the quarter-deck was thrown a heap of sawdust, and a cushion placed upon it; and in the middle, upon the gratings, a platoon consisting of nine marines, (to whom he made a present of ten guineas,) were drawn in three lines, three each. The front and centre ranks had their bayonets fixed, as is usual on such occasions. The captains of all the ships in Portsmouth harbour and at Spithead were ordered to attend with their boats, but lay abreast upon their oars, without coming on board, to avoid the inconveniency of so great a crowd as that would have occasioned. A little before twelve, the Admiral retired to the state cabin for about three minutes, when the doors were thrown open, and the Admiral opening the state room door, walked out with a stately pace and composed countenance. He made a bow to his friends in the cabin, and said to the Marshal, "Come along, my friend," and walked out upon the quarter-deck. Then turning to the Marshal, with an easy bow, he gave him a paper, saying, "Remember, sir, what I have told you relating to this paper." He then went to the cushion, and kneeled down.* One

* Walpole says, he "sat down in a chair, for he would not kneel." Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 190. "An Appeal to the People," (p. 67,) a pamphlet of the day, written by Byng's friends, confirms Beatson's account. Describing his execution, it says:—"He kneels before the Searcher of all Hearts with resolution becoming a Christian martyr."

of his friends attended him to the cushion, and offered to tie the bandage over his eyes, but he declined the service, and did it himself. The marines in the meantime advancing about two paces, then presenting their muskets, waiting till the Admiral gave them the signal to fire.* One of his friends, probably the same who offered to tie the bandage, was very near him at this moment, for he called out to him, "Retire! they may shoot you."† Upon dropping a handkerchief, (the signal agreed on,) six of the platoon fired; one missed, four passed through different parts of his body, and one through his heart. He sunk motionless on the deck."‡ As he fell, one of the sailors called out, "There lies the bravest and best officer of the navy!"§

* Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iii. pp. 142, 143.

† Appeal to the People, p. 67.

‡ Beatson, vol. iii. p. 143. § Appeal to the People.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITION AGAINST ROCHFORT—CRUISING—CAPTURE OF GOREE—HAWKE'S ACTION OFF USHANT.

Letter to Lord Anson—Keppel captures a rich prize—Accompanies the expedition against Rochfort—Sent in chase of a French seventy-four, which he pursues into shoal water—Attack on the Isle of Aix—Abandonment of the Rochfort expedition—Keppel appointed Commodore of a squadron—Makes several prizes—Capture of a French privateer—Captures part of a convoy—Engagement with a French frigate, which strikes to the Torbay—Anecdote of Keppel—Accident on board the Torbay—Keppel appointed to command the expedition against Goree—Wreck of the Lichfield upon the coast of Barbary—Treatment of the crew by the natives—The attack upon Goree, and its surrender—The French repeat their threats of invasion—Pitt's vigorous preparations for defence—Keppel appointed to the command of a squadron—Establishes a blockade—Sir Edward Hawke's action with Admiral Conflans—Keppel's conduct in the engagement—Anecdote of Keppel, by Walpole—Is one of the first three captains who held commissions in the marines.

1757 TO 1760.

AFTER the trial of Byng, Keppel attended the House of Commons for a few weeks, and then resumed the command of the Torbay.

The letter which follows relates to a gallant action of Captain Hood, afterwards Lord Bridport:—

CAPTAIN KEPPEL TO LORD ANSON.

"Portsmouth, June 2nd, 1757.

"MY LORD,—The arrival of the Antelope yesterday, furnishes me with something for your information.

"Captain Hood, who was cruising in this ship off Brest, or rather to the westward of the Saints, was chased by two sail; the one was the Aquillon, of forty-six guns, the other a frigate, of twenty-two guns. The Antelope waited to receive them, and thought the French were fully determined to attack him, by their coming to a moderate degree of sail when they came within two miles; but as that did not frighten Captain Hood, as they hoped, they took to their heels, the frigate went right before the wind. The Aquillon, with the wind upon the beam, directly in for the land, and kept plying her stern chasers upon the Antelope, till they got abreast of each other. The Antelope sailed better than the Aquillon; but the rocks prevented Captain Hood from completing what he had begun so well.

"By what every officer of the Antelope says, as well as their boats' crew, they engaged as close as could be. The French musketry must have shut their eyes when they fired, as the topsails on board the Antelope are as full of small shot-holes as they can hold. Hood would have boarded the French ship, but the breakers off the rocks were quite close, and as far aft as his beam, which obliged him to tack, and whilst in stays, the Aquillon struck upon the ridge of rocks, and her mizen-mast went overboard directly.

"Captain Hood, while standing off, bent new bowlines, and reeved new braces, in order to stand in again and anchor (if necessary) to finish his work; but upon getting in with the land again, he either found that the water had ebbed, or that the Frenchman had beat in over some of the rocks, for a whole

ridge of them were without the Aquillon, and she seemingly fast, with everything about her ears. Captain Hood has since taken a privateer brigantine,* who was in company with the Aquillon all the time, and who says that she is entirely destroyed, and that all the French now hope to save is their guns. Captain Hood thinks the French ship made a very paltry defence. The Antelope had three men killed, and fourteen wounded; and by the French privateer's account, the Aquillon had 400 men on board, out of which thirty were killed outright, and the wounded were so many that they did not exactly know the number.

"Thus you have an account that I think you may depend upon. It is not much to the credit of the Colchester and Lyme that met the Aquillon and a frigate last year in the bay. The Antelope is not near so strong a ship as the Colchester, but I believe Captain (Hood) is one of those that weighs reputation against a little deficiency in weight of ball.

"The Aquillon and French frigate had been 200 leagues to the westward, as convoy to nine sail of East India ships.

"I beg my compliments to Lady Anson, and am, with the greatest respect,

"Your Lordship's

"Most obedient humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

This is the last of Keppel's letters in the Anson collection. His Lordship's friendship, however, for

* The privateer carried sixteen guns.

Keppel continued unabated to his death, which took place at his seat in Hertfordshire, in June, 1762.

It is perhaps not known, except to the members of his family, that a patent, which is still at Shugborough, was drawn out, though not signed, to advance him in the peerage, by the title of Viscount Colchester. Lord Anson left his large estates in Staffordshire and Norfolk to his brother Thomas. It is said that this disposition of his property suggested to Voltaire his tale of "The Man who ran round the world in searchof fortune, and the Man who sought fortune in his bed."

On the 24th of June, Keppel sailed, in company with the Channel fleet, under the command of Admiral Boscawen. On the 30th, he was ordered on a detached cruise with the Medway, of sixty guns, Captain Proby, under his command. Two days afterwards, he had the good fortune to capture a rich prize, laden with provisions and stores for Louisbourg. This ship, which was called Le Commissaire Général, he sent to England under the protection of a Dutch convoy. On rejoining the fleet, he was sent home with dispatches. At Portsmouth his ship underwent a complete refit, in order to form one of an armament, from which the greatest expectations were formed. This was the expedition against Rochfort, a diversion in favour of the Duke of Cumberland and the King of Prussia, who were then carrying on the war on the Continent.

Sir Edward Hawke had the command of the naval force, which consisted of eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. To these were added

forty-four transports, with ten complete regiments and other detached companies, on board, commanded by Sir John Mordaunt. So secret had the object of the expedition been kept, that the most sagacious politicians were unable to divine it; even those on board, with the exception of the commanders, were ignorant of its destination until their arrival in the Bay of Biscay.

Keppel was attached to the division, under the command of Admiral Knowles. On the 19th of September, when within a few leagues of the land, Sir Edward Hawke directed that Admiral to attack, with all possible dispatch, the Isle of Aix. On the following afternoon they made the Isle of Oleron. While the ships were clearing for action, a French man-of-war, the Hardie, of seventy-four guns, stood towards the fleet. She was first discovered by Captain Keppel, who instantly hailed Admiral Knowles, and acquainted him with the circumstance. The Frenchman had evidently mistaken our fleet for his own; but some unaccountable delay prevented our profiting by his error. In the account which Admiral Knowles published, in defence of his own conduct on this occasion, and which he likewise gave at Sir John Mordaunt's trial, he states, that "he looked on a ship cleared for action and ready for battle as a sight so entertaining, that he had desired Major-general Conway to go down to see his ship between decks, and that while they were viewing her, one of his lieutenants came down, sent by the captain, to acquaint him Captain Keppel hailed the ship, and told them there was a French man of war standing in for

the fleet; for some short space of time he took no notice of it, thinking it impossible Sir Edward Hawke's division should not see her. A second message was sent him down to the same purpose; he then immediately went on deck with General Conway, and was shewn her by his captain, when with their glasses they plainly discovered her to be a two-decked ship; she soon made a private signal, by hoisting a jack at her mizen-topmast head; but he was in doubt whether to make a signal for any of his division to chase, being ordered on a different service: he was then at least five miles a-head of Sir Edward Hawke, and plainly saw that unless he, Admiral Knowles, ordered some of his division to chase, none of the others could possibly see her, so as to chase her when night came on." He therefore hailed Captain Keppel, and directed him to pursue her, and at the same time made a signal for the Magnanime to join in the pursuit. The Torbay succeeded in getting within a mile and a half of the chase; but in order to prevent being captured, the Frenchman ran his ship among the rocks and shoals, with which he was well acquainted, and finally escaped into the Garonne. Keppel followed as far as was practicable, nor did he relinquish the pursuit until the pilot had refused any longer to take charge of his ship, as she had run into such shoal water, that it was expected every moment she would ground.

On the 22nd, both the Torbay and the Magnanime rejoined the Admiral; and the next morning, the attack was made on the Isle of Aix. The Magnanime having the most experienced pilot on board, was

ordered to lead. About twelve o'clock, the fort opened fire upon the ships as they advanced. Not a shot was returned until Howe, the gallant commander of the Magnanime, had anchored his ship within forty yards of the fort. He then opened a tremendous fire, which he kept up with incessant vigour for five-and-thirty minutes, when the garrison struck their colours, and surrendered. The Barfleur was next to the Magnanime, "and Keppel pressed forward to get in between them."* Five hundred men, part soldiers and part sailors, were made prisoners, and a portion of our land forces were put on shore to take possession.

A most disgraceful scene now ensued. Sir John Mordaunt had notified that, "All marauding and plundering, without the permission of the commander-in-chief, would be punished with death." The order was disregarded; and in a few hours the whole island became a shocking scene of drunkenness and devastation. Even the church was pillaged, the poor priest was plundered of his little library, and his robes were dragged about and worn in derision. This was the only achievement performed by that grand secret expedition, from which so much was expected, and towards which the eyes of the British nation had, for several months, been so eagerly directed. It had cost upwards of a million of money, but not a murmur was heard against the preparations; for the nation was buoyed up with the hopes that so extensive an armament would entirely destroy the resources

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II., vol. ii. p. 242.

of the enemy, and, by demolishing their ports and ships, force them to sue for peace. For five days the fleet remained quietly at anchor within sight of Rochelle. In the meanwhile the commanders held councils of war. The first, which assembled on the 25th of September, on board the Neptune, resolved not to land, "as the attempt upon Rochfort was neither desirable nor practicable." The reasons for this resolution are not apparent. A plan of Rochfort had been previously obtained from the French king's closet, by the late Lord Albemarle;* and Admiral Broderick had been directed to sound and reconnoitre the shore of the main, for a proper place for landing. Upon Broderick's report, Sir Edward Hawke had declared *his* opinion was that a landing was practicable. At a second council, held on the 28th, it was unanimously resolved to land that night at Chatelaillon, and make a sudden attack upon Fouras, and the other forts upon the road to, or on the banks of, the Charente. Admiral Broderick, with the captains of the squadron, was appointed to superintend the disembarkation. At eight o'clock at night, orders were issued for the men to be ready to enter the boats at midnight. Twelve hundred men were first to be set on shore, and then the boats to return for a second embarkation. They were about four miles from the shore; and the men first landed would have had to maintain their ground at least six hours before they could have received a reinforcement, and that without the least hope of a retreat. These diffi-

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II., vol. ii. p. 235.

culties were too evident to escape the notice even of the most unobserving; yet so eager were all parties to be actively employed against the enemy, that by eleven o'clock the first detachment was in the boats. The night was extremely cold, and the sea rough; yet the poor fellows were kept waiting in the boats, which were thumping each other, and beating against the sides of the ships upwards of four hours. An order was then issued for "the troops to return to their respective ships till further orders." The soldiers, unable to restrain their disappointment, received the announcement with loud murmurs of discontent. It appears that when the hour had arrived for proceeding, Sir John Mordaunt somewhat suddenly changed his mind, and resolved not to land that night, saying to Admiral Broderick, "We must see the ground we are to land on." A letter was despatched to Sir Edward Hawke, acquainting him of the general's determination; and nothing was left him but to order the troops to be re-embarked. Morning came, and Sir Edward looked in vain for any preparation on the part of the military for landing, the measure so unanimously resolved on by the whole council of war. Unable longer to brook such indecision, Hawke apprised Sir John Mordaunt, by letter, that if the general officers had no further military operations to propose of sufficient importance to authorize his detaining the squadron on that station, he should, without loss of time, proceed with it to England. A council of military officers was summoned, and the result of their deliberations was conveyed in a laconic

note from Sir John, expressing their agreement in returning directly to England.

It was generally believed, at the time, that the French were thrown into the greatest alarm by the capture of the Isle of Aix. Their attention and forces had been chiefly directed to the defence of Brest. Rochfort was left almost unguarded; and so great was the scarcity of troops on this part of the coast, that the gendarmerie and two regiments of the Swiss guards, were ordered down from Paris and Versailles to its succour.

The indignation of England at the failure of this secret and costly expedition, was proportionate to the expectations it had raised, and the popular resentment was at first vented equally on its naval and military commanders. Hawke, on his landing at Portsmouth, was greeted with a dumb peal; but the truth was gradually divulged, and the principal share of the blame was attached to Sir John Mordaunt. Horace Walpole, in a letter to General Conway, says—"Your name is never mentioned but with honour, that all the violence, and that extreme, is against Sir John Mordaunt and Mr. Cornwallis."

Sir John, finding he had to bear the brunt of the public indignation, demanded an investigation into his conduct. A court of inquiry was accordingly ordered. It sat two days, and came to some indefinite conclusions, in which blame was attached to no individual. This was followed by a court-martial on Sir John Mordaunt, who, after a long investigation, obtained a full acquittal.

At this distance of time, it is hard to say who was most to blame for this disgraceful failure. The officers employed were men whose personal courage was unquestionable. Had the expedition been entrusted to the sole direction of such a man as Hawke or Conway, there can be little doubt that the result would have been far different. As it was, the whole scheme appears to have miscarried from that bane to naval and military operations—a council of war. The time for acting was spent in useless discussion, and the opportunity once lost could not be regained.

When Sir Edward Hawke quitted Basque Roads, he detached Captain Keppel with a squadron consisting of the following ships:—

Torbay . . .	Captain the Hon. Augustus Keppel.
America . . .	Captain the Hon. John Byron.
Achilles . . .	Captain the Hon. Samuel Barrington.
Coventry . . .	Captain Scrope.
Dunkirk . . .	Captain Digby.
Tartar	Captain Lockhart.
Escort	Captain Inglis.

On the 2nd of October, Keppel parted company from the fleet, and proceeded with this force to his cruising ground. After making prizes of several small vessels, and retaking some English ships, he, on the 30th, recaptured the Levant, a letter of marque, which had been taken off the banks of Newfoundland, by the Bizarre and Celebre, French ships of war, of 74 guns each, and had parted company from them in a gale of wind. From this prize he gained information that led him to believe the two French ships could not be distant more than one or two days' sail.

He immediately extended his squadron, but was unsuccessful in his search of them; he was, however, enabled to render essential service to the Grafton and Devonshire, both of 74 guns, which, when he fell in with them, were in the greatest distress, the one having lost her rudder and masts, the other with only her foremast standing.

In November, he returned to England with his squadron, and a convoy of East Indiamen. On the 20th of November he again put to sea with the Actæon, Isis, and Hussar in company, under Admiralty orders, for "the annoyance of the enemy's privateers, and the security of the trade of his Majesty's subjects, and also to gain information as to the enemy's proceedings in their own ports."

Some accidents occurring to the Actæon and Hussar, the Isis was sent to see them safe into Kinsale harbour. During their absence, Keppel fell in with a large French privateer, the Royston,* of 36 guns and 323 men, from Bordeaux, which he took after a gallant resistance; the Frenchman not surrendering until his masts and rigging were a complete wreck. The Torbay also suffered in her rigging. Shortly afterwards Keppel returned with his prize to Spithead, and received Sir Edward Hawke's directions to place himself under his command.

The ministry, no way disheartened by the unsuccessful expedition against Rochfort, determined on sending out a larger force against the enemy's possessions in North America. Admiral Boscawen was

* She was afterwards bought by the government, and called the Cawsand.

accordingly dispatched with a powerful fleet of ships of war, and transports, having on board 14,000 men to be placed under the command of General Amherst, to attack the French settlement at Louisbourg. The government hearing that the French were fitting out a considerable squadron of ships of war, with transports to convey troops and stores to America, sent Sir Edward Hawke to prevent, if possible, the sailing of this reinforcement, which might have proved destructive to Admiral Boscawen's expedition. The fleet for this purpose consisted of the Ramillies, Torbay, Union, Newark, Alcide, and Intrepid, ships of the line. They put to sea on the 12th of March, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, whose flag was hoisted on board the Ramillies, and proceeded to the Isle of Aix, having received information that a considerable force was assembled there. On their passage they were joined by the Medway, of 60 guns, and the Actæon, Chichester, Hussar, and Vestal frigates.

On the 4th of April, they arrived in Basque Roads. They here discovered a numerous convoy under the protection of three frigates. They gave chase, but in consequence of a change in the wind, every ship of the enemy escaped, with the exception of one brig, which ran aground, and was set on fire by the boats of the Hussar. About four o'clock in the afternoon, they discovered five ships of the line,* six or seven frigates, and about forty sail of transports, lying at

* These ships consisted of the Florissart of seventy-four guns, the Sphinx, Hardi, and Dragon, each of sixty-four guns, and the Warwick, of sixty guns. They were waiting for the convoy that Sir Edward had that morning driven into St. Martin's.

anchor, off the Isle of Aix. On perceiving Hawke's squadron, the Frenchmen immediately cut or slipped their cables, and endeavoured to escape into the Charente; the water being shallow, the greater number of them grounded in the mud. As the approach of night, and the shoalness of the water, prevented the squadron from getting near the enemy, the Admiral made the signal to anchor.

At daylight, the French ships were discovered aground; some lying on their broadsides, and all the crews busily engaged in throwing overboard everything they could lay their hands on.

At flood-tide, Hawke put his best pilots on board the Medway and Intrepid, and sent them in-shore, to destroy the vessels that were aground; but they were unable to get within gun-shot of them. At the same time, the French sent boats from Rochfort to disembark the troops. By throwing overboard their guns, stores, and ballast, and by the assistance of the people on shore, the French ships succeeded in gaining the Charente, where our ships were unable to do them any injury. About eighty buoys were left by the French, over the places where the guns and anchors had been thrown overboard: every one of these was afterwards cut away by our boats. In the meantime, Hawke sent a detachment on shore, at the Isle of Aix, to destroy the battery and fortifications, which had been re-constructed since their overthrow in the previous September. This service was performed with great order, and owing to the humane directions of Sir Edward Hawke, not the slightest disturbance was given to the inhabitants.

Hawke now learned that the force he had so effectually dispersed, was the same as that which he had been directed to prevent from sailing to America. The object of his cruise being therefore accomplished, he returned to England, leaving Captain Keppel in the command of a small squadron, to cruise in the Bay of Biscay. Keppel continued on this service for seven weeks. During this time, he succeeded in capturing part of a convoy that had sailed from Bordeaux, with stores and provisions for Quebec. These vessels were under the protection of a large privateer and two frigates, the latter of which escaped. The Godichon, one of the principal ships of this squadron, determined not to surrender without an effort. Being a fast sailer, she put before the wind, and kept up a constant and galling fire from her waist and stern guns, chiefly directed against the Torbay's rigging, in hopes of disabling her. Keppel, knowing that with one broadside he could send her to the bottom, refrained for some time from firing a single shot; but finding the Godichon had placed men in her tops, and was endeavouring to sweep his decks with musketry, his forbearance at length gave way, and he ordered his upper-deck guns, and a volley of small arms, to be fired into her. Upon this discharge, which killed and wounded a considerable number of her crew, she struck her colours, and called for quarter. An anecdote is recorded of Keppel on this occasion:—During the chase, he received a wound in the leg, which for the moment was thought to be dangerous, as it brought him on the deck. The sailors instantly came to carry him down to the cock-pit; but he very

calmly took his handkerchief from his pocket, and bound it round the wound, saying, "Stop, my lads, reach a chair; as I can't stand, I must sit." "This," added he, clapping his hand to the place, "may spoil my dancing, but not my stomach for fighting."*

The following day, Captain Keppel discovered a large ship, at a great distance to leeward. He immediately gave chase, but the wind dying away, he was obliged to hoist out his boats, and carry out tubs to warp the ship. By this means he gained a little on the enemy, and made her out to be, as he then imagined, "a ship of seventy-four, or sixty-four guns at least."† She afterwards, however, proved to be the Formidable, a French eighty-four gun ship, bound to Louisbourg. For four successive days he continued in pursuit; but the wind gradually increasing to a strong gale, and thick hazy weather coming on, he lost sight of her; not, however, before his bowsprit, and two of his lower masts had been sprung by the heavy press of sail he was obliged to carry. Being now considerably off his cruising ground, and without a hope of coming up with the chase, he returned to his station, and on the 29th put into Plymouth, where he got in a new mainmast, foremast, and bowsprit.

On the 16th of July, Keppel joined Lord Anson's fleet in Cawsand Bay. This fleet, consisting of an immense number of ships of the line, proceeded, on the 22nd, to cruise off Ushant, in order to blockade

* Public Journals. † Keppel's Log.

the enemy's ships in Brest harbour. At the same time, Commodore Lord Howe, with a squadron of men-of-war, and a large body of troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Bligh, made a descent at Cherbourg, which, two days after their arrival, they succeeded in taking; and, having effectually destroyed all the enemy's resources of war, and levied contributions on the town, they proceeded to make another descent in the Bay of St. Lunar.

Keppel was not long detained on the inactive and tedious service of a blockade. On the 4th of August, Lord Anson directed him to take the Medway and Coventry under his command, and cruise off the Penmarks.

Shortly after arriving on his station, he learned from a Dutch ship that, only ten hours before, she had parted company from a large convoy of French ships that were standing to the northward, between the Glenans and Belleisle. He thereupon directed the Medway and Coventry to cruise in-shore, a-head of the Torbay. After a fruitless search of five days, during which time he had lost sight of the Medway and Coventry, he again fell in with them, and perceived them to be in chase of the very convoy he had been seeking. It consisted of about fifty sail of three-masted vessels, and as many of a smaller kind, under the protection of two frigates and an armed snow. He instantly joined in the pursuit, in hopes of cutting them off. Towards the close of the evening, the Coventry got within range of the largest frigate, and pouring her whole broadside into her, bore away with the other frigate, closely pursued by the Torbay and

Medway. It was nearly dark by the time they got near one of the frigates, which, in order to avoid being captured, ran into a small creek, where she grounded. In the meantime, a brisk cannonade was kept up between the Coventry and the snow; the latter, however, succeeded in gaining shelter among the rocks. The whole convoy of the enemy was dispersed; many of their ships were driven on shore, some got into Port Louis, Quimperley, and the different creeks along the coast; while a few only managed to join the frigate that had got into safety within the Glenans.

On the 27th of August, Keppel rejoined Lord Anson's fleet, and shortly afterwards anchored at Spithead.

While removing the powder, preparatory to the Torbay's going into dock, a fire broke out in the magazine, and in an instant the powder exploded, killing five men, and wounding twelve others. Providentially, the greater part of the powder had been removed the previous day; had this not been the case, the catastrophe must have been awful; for, as it was, the whole of the fore part of the ship was completely blown up.

In the early part of this year, one Thomas Cumming, a Quaker, suggested to the Government the expediency of sending a force against the French possessions on the western coast of Africa. Accordingly, Commodore Marsh was despatched with a small squadron, and succeeded in taking possession of the settlements of the enemy on the river Senegal. He then proceeded, in conformity with his instruc-

tions, to Goree, in order to effect the reduction of that island; but finding, on examination, that his force was inadequate to the undertaking, he returned to England.

Mr. Pitt, aware that the settlements on the Senegal would be untenable if Goree remained in the hands of the French, determined to send a larger force against it, and made choice of Keppel to command the expedition.

The following ships were destined for this service:—

Torbay . . .	74 guns	Hon. Augustus Keppel,	Commodore.
		Captain Owen.	
Nassau . . .	64 „	„	Sayer.
Fougueux . . .	64 „	„	Knight.
Dunkirk . . .	60 „	„	Digby.
Lichfield . . .	50 „	„	Barton.
Experiment	Frigates,	„	Allen.
Prince Edward		„	Fortescue.
Roman Emperor		„	Newson.
Saltash . . .	Sloop	„	Stirling.
Firedrake	Bombs	„	Orrock.
Furnace		„	Faulkner.

Cambridge and Lydia, Tenders.

Seven transports were also taken up to convey seven hundred soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Worge. A portion of the troops embarked at Portsmouth, the remainder were ordered to hold themselves in readiness at Cork. Here Keppel, who was on board the Torbay, hoisted his broad pendant for the first time. No sooner was it displayed from the masthead, than the crews of all the ships gave three hearty cheers, in token of

the respect and affection they entertained for their commander.

A variety of accidents occurred to delay the final departure of the expedition. The squadron had been detained a week at Portsmouth, by one of the transports breaking from her moorings in a gale of wind, and running a-ground upon the Hard. The remaining detachment of troops that the Commodore had hoped, on his arrival at Cork, to find ready for sea, had been prevented, by the tempestuous state of the weather, from getting further than Kinsale. Two transports had been missing; one of them reached Cork harbour in a shattered and leaky condition, and the other, not arriving in time, the Commodore was obliged to sail without her.

The squadron put to sea on the 26th of October, and got as far as Kinsale, whence they were driven back by stress of weather. In returning, the Fougueux and Nassau ran foul of each other; the latter was considerably injured; and, to complete their disaster, the Torbay was thrown upon a rock, by a mistake of the pilot.

At length, on the 11th of November, the squadron got under weigh, and were joined by the Lichfield and Roman Emperor, with the five transports from Kinsale. The wind continued favourable, and the weather fine, for a few days. It then came on to blow a heavy gale, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and rain. Several of the transports suffered considerably; and a flash of lightning shivered the main-top-mast of the Torbay to pieces, damaged her main-mast, and killed one of her men. As the

squadron approached the coast of Africa, the weather became still worse. "Never," says an eye-witness, "in the memory of the oldest of our seamen, was such a continued tempest seen. Sometimes it was so dark, 'twas with difficulty we could discern each other on the deck. Presently, in the midst of a dreadful gust of wind, the heavens would break out into such flames of sulphur, that while the sea turned sometimes to a green, sometimes to a blue, and at others to a pure white, the whole face of the sky was in such a blaze, that it was with difficulty we recovered our sight for a season."*

In the middle of the night of the 29th of November, when the Commodore supposed he was sixty or seventy leagues from the land, he discovered that he was close on a lee-shore. Guns were instantly fired from the Torbay to apprise the remainder of the squadron of the danger. When morning came, the Commodore saw one of his ships in the midst of the breakers; but the violence of the gale precluded the possibility of rendering any assistance to the unfortunate crew. The vessel proved to be the Lichfield, which had been unable, from the howling of the wind, and the loud roar of the waves, to hear the Torbay's signal guns. Ignorant of her danger, she had stood on, and at length stranded on the inhospitable shores of Barbary, at a place called Veadore, where the violence of the surf soon dashed her to pieces.

* "A Succinct Account of the Expedition to, and the Taking of, the Island of Goree, by a Squadron commanded by the Honourable Augustus Keppel." By the Rev. John Lindsay. 1759.

The loss of the Lichfield is an episode in this voyage, and furnishes an additional illustration of the kind of usage which this great country was content to receive at the hands of the petty and despicable states of Barbary.

The crew consisted of 350 men; of this number, 130, among whom were the first lieutenant, the captain and subaltern of marines, the purser, gunner, and carpenter, met a watery grave. The Lydia bomb tender, and the Somerset transport, were also totally lost. Many of the survivors of the wrecks were much injured, by being driven with violence on the rocks, as they endeavoured to gain the shore. "Upon the beach," writes one of the survivors, "we found numbers of Moors, whom at first we imagined humanity had drawn there to afford us assistance; but we were soon undeceived—self-interest was their only view. To such as had stripped before they came into the water they afforded no assistance; but to those who had a shirt or waistcoat, of which they could make plunder, these they laid hold of, and would even venture a little for the sake of what they had with them, but immediately on their coming on shore, they stripped them of everything, and unmercifully left them, without clothes or covering, upon the open beach, to the inclemency of a cold, rainy night, in the month of November; and if any appeared unwilling to part with their clothes, a dagger, or stiletto, was presented to their breast, and the unhappy sufferer must either part with what he had or his life."*

For two days these shipwrecked men fed upon

* Beatson's Naval Memoirs, pp. 185, 186.

drowned sheep and hogs, and were forced by the Moors to assist them in carrying whatever was cast on shore from the wreck.

After enduring very great hardships, they were sent to Morocco, where the seamen were employed as slaves, in "carrying wood for buildings, and weeding in the Emperor's garden."* In this situation they remained until "Captain Millbank, of the Guernsey, was sent as ambassador to the Emperor, who treated for the ransom of the crew of the Lichfield, and some other British subjects; and upon their delivery to him, paid 170,000 hard dollars."†

The squadron reached Teneriff on the 13th of December, and on the 20th again set sail. "The four following days, having a fair and constant gale, and the weather warm and cheerful, the Commodore, who loses no opportunity when the service calls his attention, had frequent signals for exercising his squadron in lines of battle, the use of great guns and small arms, and in throwing of shells from the royals, which had been sent on board our ships in this expedition, of which Mr. Keppel, it seems, has a great opinion."‡

On the 28th, the squadron arrived off Goree, but too late in the evening to commence the attack.

This island lies about a mile to the southward of Cape Verd. It is strongly defended by nature, being surrounded with rocks and shoals. It consists principally of a mass of black basalt, which rises abruptly to the height of 300 feet. It is wholly inaccessible tothe west, and nearly so to the east and south. It is

* Beatson's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 188. † Ibid. p. 189.
‡ Lindsay's Goree, p. 35.

easier of approach towards the north; but here numerous batteries and fortifications had been erected by the French, as indeed they had been at every point where a landing could be effected.

Each captain had been furnished with instructions, together with a map of the island before the action. Early on the morning of the 29th, the troops were embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, and placed on the off side of the transports, to be in protection until their services might be required. The signal to weigh was made at seven o'clock; the west side of the island was the strongest, but being to leeward, it was selected for the point of attack, in order to enable any ship that might meet with an accident to repair her damages. The Prince Frederick, preceded by the Firedrake bomb, led to the westward of the island, and stationed herself off Fort St. Michael. The Nassau bore down to the principal works, and anchored abreast St. Peter's battery. The Dunkirk brought up abreast of a battery, to the northward. The Commodore, in the Torbay, selected for his part the west point battery, and the west corner of St. Francis' Fort. The Torbay was followed by the Furnace bomb, and astern of her was the Fougueux, to which ship was assigned the mortar battery.

The enemy received our ships with a brisk fire, as they passed their forts; but agreeably with the Commodore's instruction, not a shot was returned until each ship had anchored in her proper station, within musket-shot of the enemy's batteries. The Firedrake then fired a shell, the preconcerted signal for commencing the action. The enemy instantly returned

the shot from both their forts and batteries, and the squadron, at the same moment, opened a heavy fire.

Mr. Lindsay mentions, among the occurrences of the day, "the heroism of a private sailor; being in the fore-top, and having one of his legs carried away by a shot, with the heart of a lion he let himself down from thence, hand under hand, by a rope, saying at the same time, 'he should not have been sorry for the accident if he had done his duty, but that it gave him pain to think he should die without having killed an enemy.'"*

The mortars of the Firedrake being overcharged, the shells fell beyond the island. This attracted the notice of the Commodore, who sent on board the Furnace, with orders, "that as they saw the error of the other, in overcharging the mortars, they would avoid that extreme; and that as the enemy seemed bent upon sinking the Prince Edward and Firedrake, he desired they would, at the distance they then were, begin their fire, and endeavour, as much as possible, to draw part of the enemy's attention from their suffering friends." The Furnace, in consequence, bore close under the stern of the Fougueux, and, getting under her larboard quarter, fired with considerable effect.

All accounts agree in the well-directed fire which was kept up from Keppel's ship. An eye-witness says, "the fury of the Torbay alone seemed sufficient to have razed the very foundations of the island itself."† "The fire from the Torbay was so terrible, so near, and so well aimed, that none but desperadoes

* Lindsay's Goree, p. 40. † Ibid. p. 43.

or madmen would have stood it. The ship was in one continued blaze of fire; and that part of the island itself upon which she lay, was darkened by a cloud of smoke and earth, to a wonderful degree, that the very foundations of the island itself seemed to be razed."*

The effect of this destructive cannonade was soon apparent. The enemy fled in confusion from their guns. It was in vain that Monsieur St. Jean, the governor, ordered "every man to his quarters upon pain of death;" the soldiers could not be induced to return to their posts. In order to gain time, and to rally his men, the Governor lowered his flag, and beat a parley. The Commodore thinking the island had surrendered, sent his secretary and lieutenant on shore. The Governor, who was on the beach, told the Lieutenant that he only struck his flag as a signal for a parley, and asked "on what terms the Honourable Mr. Keppel proposed he should surrender?" He was told that the Commodore insisted upon his surrendering at discretion. He replied that as he was well able to defend the island, he proposed that the French troops should be allowed to march out with the honours of war. These terms the Commodore at once rejected, and renewed the attack with increased vigour. At length the colours were lowered from the walls, in token that the enemy had surrendered at discretion.

Captain Chalmers and a party of marines from the Torbay, were sent on shore to take possession of the

* Lindsay's Goree, p. 43.

island. British colours were hoisted on Fort St. Michael, a ceremony which was performed with great glee, and amidst the cheers of the assailants.

Amongst the wounded in this action was Duncan, at that time first lieutenant of the Torbay. During the bombardment, the opposite shore was lined with negroes, who had assembled to view the combat, and expressed their sentiments of surprise " in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulation."*

By this defeat, the French were driven from their last remaining possession in Africa, and the final blow was struck against the very lucrative trade which, under the title of the Senegal Company, France had enjoyed on this coast. She had had for many years a complete monopoly of the gum trade, and had carried on besides a considerable traffic in slaves, ivory, and hides. It was at Goree that their ships assembled to take on board stores and provisions. Here, likewise, they used to form a depôt of slaves until they had collected a sufficient number to form a cargo for their West Indian plantations.†

The prisoners having been removed, Major Newton, with part of the troops were sent to garrison the island, and three transports were fitted out as cartels to convey the Frenchmen to one of their own ports. These arrangements completed, the Commodore set sail for Senegal, where he landed Lieutenant-Colonel

* Smollett's History of England, vol. iv. p. 314.

† Much importance was attached to this conquest. Amongst other indications of this, was a fine bronze bust, put up at the Senegal and Goree Coffee House, of the Earl of Halifax, " under whose auspicious patronage the plan for conquering the French settlements of Senegal and Goree, on the coast of Africa, was happily carried into execution, in the year M DCC LVIII."—Gentleman's Magazine, 1762, p. 440.

Worge, the new governor of Fort Louis, on that river, together with the remainder of the troops to reinforce the garrison. He then sailed for England with the two-decked ships, and, after encountering very boisterous weather, arrived at Portsmouth on the 1st of March.

The Commodore's commission being at an end, he struck his broad pendant, and for a short time repaired to London, while the Torbay underwent an entire repair.

Their recent menace of invading Great Britain had been so successful, that the French repeated the threat, although apparently with more serious designs of putting it in execution. Large bodies of troops were assembled on different parts of the French coast; and the intention was avowed of making simultaneous descents upon England, Scotland, and Ireland. But, in the meantime, a change had taken place in the administration of this country, and the feeble Newcastle had given place to the elder Pitt. The new minister, in no ways daunted by the hostile demonstrations of the enemy, sent out large naval armaments, with instructions to blockade their ports, and to keep a watchful eye upon their military operations. Admiral Boscawen was stationed off Toulon; Commodore Boys watched Thurot's armament at Dunkirk, intended for the invasion of Scotland or Ireland; Commodore Duff, with a small squadron, cruised between Port L'Orient, in Bretagne, and Point St. Gilles, in Poitou. Ushant, being the principal point, was assigned to the fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hawke.

Keppel, who had resumed the command of the

Torbay, was one of those who had the good fortune to be placed under that gallant Admiral's command.

The fleet sailed from England on the 18th of May. On arriving at their cruising ground, the Admiral received intelligence, that four ships of the line were ready at Port Louis, to join the French fleet off Ushant. In order to intercept them, the Admiral despatched Keppel, with the command of the following squadron: the Torbay, seventy-four, the Honourable Augustus Keppel, Commodore; the Magnanime, seventy-four, Captain Lord Howe; the Fame, seventy-four, Captain the Honourable John Byron;* the Monmouth, sixty-four, Captain the Honourable Augustus Hervey;† and the Southampton, frigate, Captain Fraine.

The Commodore's orders were to cruise off Hodierne Bay: as soon as the squadron arrived on its station, Keppel sent the Southampton to Port Louis, to procure intelligence of the enemy's ships. In the meanwhile, every preparation was made for a hostile encounter, and very judicious instructions were issued by the Commodore; but they were unavailable, for the Southampton soon announced, to the disappointment of every one, that before they had reached their station, the enemy had put to sea.

The whole summer was passed in blockading the

* He was a midshipman on board the Wager, Captain Cheap, in Anson's South Sea Expedition, and published an account of the sufferings and proceedings of the survivors of that ill-fated ship. "He died," says Charnock, "on the 10th of April, 1786, with the universal, and justly-acquired reputation of a brave and excellent officer, but of a man extremely unfortunate."

† Afterwards Earl of Bristol.

French coast. Keppel's share of this duty was cruising in the command of a squadron, along the coast of Vannes, where a large body of troops were assembled, under the Duc d'Aiguillon; but, by the prudent arrangements of the Commodore, their services were never called into action.

By this and similar obstructions, the enemy, instead of invading England, as they had threatened, hardly dared to venture out of their own ports. About the middle of August, however, the French fleet in Toulon, finding that Admiral Boscawen had gone to Gibraltar, to repair some damages sustained by his fleet, put to sea; but they were immediately pursued by the gallant British Admiral, who brought them to action, and gained a complete victory over them. This triumph of our arms made the French, in appearance, at least, only the more determined to carry their threats of invasion into effect. Their expectation was, that when the equinoctial gales set in, the British fleets would be driven from their stations; for it so happened that the same wind which would force our ships from the blockade, would also enable the French to quit their harbours.

These anticipations were in part fulfilled: on the 12th of October, a violent storm drove the English ships from the coast of France. Mons. Thurot, taking advantage of their absence, put to sea; but being closely pursued by Commodore Boys, was compelled to seek shelter in the port of Gottenburg; where, owing to the severity of the weather, and want of stores, he was obliged to remain till after Christmas.

The same storm drove Sir Edward Hawke, whose fleet Keppel had now rejoined, into Plymouth Sound; but in a week he resumed the blockade.

The tempestuous weather continuing, Sir Edward Hawke was three times driven back on the English coast, and as often returned to his cruising ground.

Ushant being, in these intervals, free from blockade, Mons. Bompart, with a squadron from the West Indies, was enabled to enter Brest, and reinforce Mons. Conflans, who was lying with a large fleet in that harbour. No sooner had the weather moderated, than the French admiral, perceiving the British fleet had left the coast, seized the opportunity of putting to sea, in hopes of being able to capture or destroy Commodore Duff's little squadron, which he had heard was moored in Quiberon Bay. On the same day, the 14th of November, Sir Edward Hawke shifted his flag from the Ramillies to the Royal George, and set sail for the third time from Torbay, to resume his station off Ushant.

It was at this time that Keppel's most intimate friend, Admiral Saunders, was on his voyage home from America, where he had been co-operating with the gallant Wolfe.

"Returning thence," says Walpole, "he heard that Monsieur Conflans had taken the opportunity of Sir Edward Hawke's retiring to Gibraltar* to refit, and had sailed out of Brest. Saunders, who heard the news at Plymouth, far from thinking he had done enough, turned back instantaneously, and sailed

* Walpole is in error; it was to Torbay that Sir Edward Hawke went, when driven by weather off the French coast.

to assist Hawke. His patriotism dictated that step, and would not wait for other orders. He arrived too late; but a moment so embraced could not be accounted lost. Such, too, was the age, that England did not want the addition of a Saunders.*

Two days after Sir Edward had sailed, and when within a few miles of his cruising ground, he fell in with four transports returning from Quiberon Bay. From them he learned that, the day before, the French fleet was standing to the S.E. of Belleisle. The Admiral instantly ordered Captain Keppel, who had rejoined the fleet, to inform as many of the ships as he fell in with, that the enemy was at sea, intelligence which was received with universal acclamation.

Judiciously concluding that Quiberon would be their first place of rendezvous, Hawke shaped his course in that direction. Although it was blowing a strong gale from the south-east, he ordered the ships to set every stitch of canvas. Having been joined by the Maidstone and Coventry frigates, he directed their commanders to keep ahead, one on the starboard, the other on the larboard bow.

At half-past eight in the morning of the 20th, the Maidstone let fly her top-gallant sails, to intimate that a fleet was in sight, and shortly after Lord Howe made the signal that that fleet was an enemy.

The Admiral gave the order to form a line abreast, so as to let all the ships of the fleet come up with him. But perceiving that the enemy was endeavouring to make off, he directed the seven nearest ships

* Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 394.

to give chase, draw into a line of battle a-head, and endeavour to stop them till the rest of the fleet should come up. The seven ships were—the Magnanime, Revenge, Montague, Resolution, Swiftsure, Defiance, and Keppel's ship, the Torbay. A general chase now ensued, without regard to order. Hawke observing at the time, that "he did not intend to trouble himself by forming lines, but that he should attack the enemy in his old way, and make downright work with him."

Monsieur Conflans, the French admiral, on seeing our fleet, had given over the chase of Commodore Duff's squadron, and begun to form a line. But, as he stated in his official letter, when he discovered that it was the English fleet that hove in sight, "he judged it most conducive to the good of his Majesty's service, to avoid hazarding a general engagement, but rather to train the enemy through the shoals and rocks in the entrance of the river Villaine." By so doing, he trusted that our fleet, from their ignorance of the coast, would be destroyed; while his own officers, perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. Conflans, accordingly, put before the wind with all the sail he could carry, and steered directly for the coast, in the full confidence we should not venture to follow. But the British admiral, who felt that the safety of his country required the defeat of the enemy's fleet, even at the destruction of his own, was determined that no obstacle should prevent him from bringing his flying foe to action.

The sea was running high, the wind blowing a violent gale, the coast, though familiar to the enemy, was unknown to our fleet, and beset with rocks, sands, and shallows; when it is remembered that this was a lee-shore, we may form some conception of the appalling dangers that presented themselves.

At about half-past two in the afternoon, when within three leagues of the land, the seven headmost ships, amongst the foremost of which was the Torbay, came up with the rear of the enemy's fleet, and immediately received the Admiral's signal to engage. The order was promptly obeyed, and the action raged with great fury—each ship, as she came up with the enemy, poured her broadsides into the sternmost ships, and then stood on for the van, leaving the rear to those that came after.

At four o'clock, Keppel laid his ship alongside of the Formidable, an eighty-gun ship, and one thousand men, carrying the flag of Rear-Admiral De Verger. After engaging with her till he "had silenced her,"* he left her to the Resolution, to which ship she afterwards struck. When taken, she exhibited a dreadful scene of carnage, having two hundred men killed, amongst whom was Rear-Admiral de Verger himself.

Keppel then passed a-head, to attack the Soleil Royale, of eighty guns, and twelve hundred men, commanded by Monsieur Conflans, his second, and another ship, (the Intrepid.)† The two first of these, after pouring their broadsides into him, declined the

* Keppel's Log. † Ibid.

engagement, and bore up. "The other ship," says the Torbay's log-book, "came down, and seemed determined to engage us." This was the Thésée, one of the finest ships in the French navy, mounting the same number of guns, but of larger calibre, and carrying a hundred men more than the Torbay. This ship, according to Campbell, Keppel engaged, "yard-arm to yard-arm, with such impetuous fury, that he sunk her in half an hour, and the greater part of her crew perished." Her gallant captain refusing to strike, she went down with her colours flying. That the Thésée sunk while thus engaged with the Torbay, is proved by the Torbay's log-book; but it is now generally believed, that her disaster was occasioned by her having her lower-deck ports open, which, from the violence of the gale, was attended with the most imminent danger. Owing to the same cause, the Torbay was in the greatest danger of a similar fate, when Captain Keppel, "by superior seamanship, and ordering the lower ports to be shut, saved the ship." "We received," says the log-book, "so much water in at the lee-ports, that we were obliged to fling the ship up in the wind, when she went round." Walpole mentions an anecdote in connexion with this event: "Keppel's (ship) was full of water, and he thought he was sinking; a sudden squall emptied his ship, but he was informed all his powder was wet: 'Then,' said he; 'I am sorry I am safe.' They came and told him a small quantity was undamaged—'Very well,' said he, 'then attack again.'"*

* Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 395.

Keppel no sooner perceived the calamity which had befallen the Thésée, when, although it blew a heavy gale, and the battle was still raging, he acted with that humanity, which formed so striking a feature of his character. "He immediately hoisted out the boats, and sent them to the wreck, to endeavour to save as many of the people as they could.*

"At this time, the Admiral and part of the fleet passed us, and got into action to leeward, and soon after, another of the French ships opposed to them (the Superbe) sunk.†

"Having got the main runners and tackles forward to secure the mainmast, the main-stay being shot, made sail towards the body of the fleet."‡

Howe was a strenuous competitor with Keppel for a share in the honours of this victory. He had twice succeeded in getting alongside of the Thésée, but was both times run foul of by some of our own ships. He began at last to despair of doing anything worthy of his name, when perceiving the Héros to leeward, he bore down upon her, and after a gallant engagement, compelled her to strike.

From the beginning of the action, Sir Edward Hawke had ordered his ship, the Royal George, to reserve her fire until she came alongside of the French Admiral, the Soleil Royale. The pilot informed him that this could not be done without the most imminent danger of running upon a shoal. It was on this

* Keppel's Log. † Ibid.

‡ The above extracts from Keppel's Log-book are here inserted, because in some accounts Hawke is said to have engaged the Thésée.

occasion he gave the well-known answer: "You have done your duty in pointing out the danger; you are now to obey my commands, and lay me alongside of the French Admiral." As he advanced, he received the broadsides of six of the enemy's ships. The French Admiral was one of the last to give him his fire, and, as in the case of the Torbay, he shewed a great disinclination for nearer contact. As the Royal George neared the Soleil, she endeavoured to make off, in which effort she was aided by the Superbe, who, perceiving our Admiral's design, generously interposed, received the fire intended for the Soleil Royale, and soon after went to the bottom.

"Dark coming on, the Admiral made the signal to anchor."*

"The French fleet separated in two divisions, one of which ran far into the bay, and the other we found in the morning had stood to sea. At half-past five, we came to with our best bower in fifteen fathom of water. One of the boats returned from the wreck with nine Frenchmen, who informed us the ship we had sunk was the Thésée, a new ship of seventy-four guns."†

A violent hurricane blew during the whole of the night after the action. Guns of distress were to be heard amidst the roar of the tempest; but whether from friend or foe it was impossible to ascertain, and if known, the violence of the storm would have rendered it impossible to afford assistance to either.

"A.M. Two of the enemy's ships, the Soleil

* Torbay's Log-book. † Keppel's Log-book.

Royale, and the Héros,* that had anchored in the night, were forced to run ashore near Croizée. The Resolution being ashore near the Foresand, with all her masts gone, the Admiral made the Essex's signal to go to her assistance, who, not being acquainted with the land, likewise ran a-ground. "Saw six or seven of the enemy's large ships, and two or three frigates close in-shore, and, as we supposed, a-ground."

"Thursday, 22nd Nov.—At three, the Admiral made the signal for the boats to go and endeavour to save the men out of the Resolution and Essex, who were inevitably lost; at seven, weighed and made sail further into the bay; the enemy's ships employed in securing themselves in the Villaine."

"Friday, 23rd Nov.—The Admiral sent the Portland to endeavour to set fire to the enemy's ships ashore near Croizée, which she effected: they were, the Soleil Royale, of eighty guns, the French Admiral's ship, and the Héros, of seventy-four."†

Thus, of the mighty armament by which the French were to effect the conquest of Great Britain, four of their best ships were destroyed, one was taken, and the remainder disarmed, shattered, or dispersed; and all this was brought about by eight ships,‡ which had to encounter a powerful enemy, a stormy sea, a raging wind, a strange and rocky coast, and, above all, a lee-shore.

* "The Héros, one of the prizes, had the dishonesty, in the course of the night, to slip her cables, and run on shore."—Campbell's Lives of the British Admirals, *in voce*. Lord Hawke, vol. vi. p. 460.

† Keppel's Log-book.

‡ "Not above eight of our ships were engaged in obtaining that decisive victory."—Walpole's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 396.

Hawke's engagement with Conflans was one of the few general actions which, prior to the manœuvre of *Breaking the Line*, was, in the last century, attended with decisive results.* The others that will come under this class are, Matthews' action, already cited; Anson's with la Jonquiére; Hawke's (other action) with de l'Etendiére; and Boscawen's with de la Clue. Upon one and all of these occasions, the French abandoned, or did not adopt, their advantageous system of forming a line to leeward, to receive the British attack. The undecisive battles would comprise a much longer list.

Upon the behaviour of Keppel as an officer and a seaman in this action, all writers seem to be agreed. Beatson speaks of his "superior seamanship."† Charnock says that Keppel served "in the fleet commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, and bore a very conspicuous and distinguished share in the defeat of the French armament under the Marquis de Conflans."‡ Campbell states that "he commanded the Torbay, one of the line of the battle in the Channel fleet, under Sir Edward Hawke; and the famous victory gained by that fleet off Belleisle, Keppel, by a stroke of skilful seamanship and dexterous heroism, gloriously contributed to achieve."§ In a letter from one engaged in Hawke's action, written in one of the public journals of the day, he is thus mentioned:—

* See page 73 of this volume.

† Beatson's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 329.

‡ Charnock's Lives of Naval Officers, vol. v. p. 319.

§ Campbell's Lives of the British Admirals, *in voce* Lord Keppel.

"I would, in this place, attempt the most honourable mention of Sir Edward Hawke, neither would I by any means omit my Lord Howe and Captain Keppel, nor should Captain Campbell,* of the Royal George, pass unnoticed; but that there was a certain greatness in their behaviour which exceeds the ability of my pen to describe."

For some days the gale continued with such violence, that the British ships were unable to weigh their anchors and follow up their victory. But on the 25th of November the weather moderated, and a small squadron was sent to Quiberon Bay; while Sir Edward Hawke, as a proof of his estimation of Captain Keppel as an officer, gave him the command of a force, consisting of eight sail of the line, and three frigates, and directed him to "proceed to the enemy's ports to the southward, as far as Aix Road; and on finding any of their ships, to take, sink, or burn them, wherever he should think it practicable to attack them."

* Captain John Campbell was a petty officer on board the Centurion in her voyage round the world. "Hence," says Charnock, "arose that intimacy and friendship between Mr. Keppel and himself, which continued uninterruptedly through their whole lives." Campbell was originally an apprentice in a Scotch coaster. With the exception of the master and himself, (who was exempt by his indentures,) the crew of this vessel were pressed into the navy. One of the poor fellows, the mate, a married man, wept bitterly at the prospect of separation from his family. Campbell asked if he would be accepted in his place. "Ay, my lad," was the reply, "I would rather have a boy of spirit than a blubbering man." Campbell was Hawke's flag captain in the action off Ushant, and brought home the account of the victory. Lord Anson, in taking him to Court, told him that the King would knight him. "I ken nae use that it will be to me," was the reply. "But your lady might like it," said Anson. "Weel, then," rejoined Campbell, "his Majesty may knight her, if he pleases."

With this squadron Keppel immediately put to sea; but the day before his arrival at Aix, Beaufrement, the French Vice-Admiral, in anticipation of such a visit, had got all his guns out, and retired with his division up the River Charente, whither our ships, from not having a sufficient depth of water, were unable to follow him.

For the remainder of the year, the British fleet were occupied in establishing a blockade of the French coast; which was rendered so complete, that only three of the enemy's ships could be brought out, the rest becoming so injured, from frequently taking ground, that they were broken up or sold as unserviceable.

On the 6th of January, 1760, Sir Edward Hawke removed his flag on board his friend Keppel's ship; and, proceeding to England, arrived at Plymouth on the 17th of the same month.

It is a curious fact that, on the very day that Hawke was engaged in destroying the French fleet, the mob were burning him in effigy in the streets of London, for his supposed share in the failure of the expedition against Rochfort. But the news of his victory give a new turn to the popular feeling. The whole country now seemed resolved to make him amends for the ungracious reception with which they had previously greeted him. Bonfires and illuminations were exhibited throughout the kingdom; wherever the Admiral went, he was greeted with the loudest acclamations.

On his arrival in London, he received the thanks of the House of Commons; and a pension of 2,000*l*.

a-year was granted to him for his own life, and for the lives of his two sons.*

Nor was this the only indication of the public gratitude for the services rendered by the navy in the eventful year of 1759. Commissions in the Marines were bestowed for the first time upon naval officers. Admiral the Hon. Edward Boscawen was appointed General of Marines; Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, Lieutenant-General; and, shortly afterwards, Captains Sir Piercy Brett, the Hon. Augustus Keppel, and Viscount Howe, were respectively appointed Colonels of the Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham Divisions.

Sir John Barrow says, that Lord Howe "was the first officer that ever held a commission under this new establishment," (the appointment of naval officers to be colonels of marines,) but surely Howe's two senior officers, Brett and Keppel, have at least an equal claim to this distinction.

Soon after his arrival in England, Keppel was or-

* At page 76, it is stated that Hawke was cashiered for his conduct in Matthews' action. The Admiralty furnishes no record of the circumstance. This gallant officer was peculiarly fortunate in his career. In the very few decisive general engagements that were fought in his day, he bore part in three. From 1765 to 1771, Hawke was First Lord of the Admiralty. He was created a baron in 1776. His monument, at Stoneham, records that "a prince, unsolicited, conferred on him dignities he disdained to ask." The "Memorial to the King upon Keppel's Court-Martial," at the head of which Hawke placed his own name, and the manner in which the noble veteran commemorated our admiral's acquittal, sufficiently prove the feelings he entertained for him. Burke, speaking of the celebration of the acquittal, says, "No one was more extravagant in his joy, if anything could be called extravagant on such an occasion, than the great Lord Hawke. He deemed it a triumph and glory to his country, far transcending the most brilliant victory he himself had ever gained." Hawke died in 1781.

dered to take with him his officers and crew, and to remove from the Torbay into the Valiant, likewise a seventy-four gun-ship, but quite new, and considered of greater force, as well from her construction as from her heavier weight of metal.

In the month of May, Captain Keppel was ordered to take the Jason under his command, and proceed to the coast of Ireland, in search of a French privateer, of fifty guns, but being unable to find her, he joined the fleet in Quiberon bay. Admiral Boscawen, who was in command of the fleet, sent him with the Portland and Melampe to cruise off Cape Finisterre, in order to watch the motions of some French ships that had put into Corunna. While on this service the Valiant sprung a leak, which obliged Keppel to put into Corunna. After stopping the leak, he returned to Quiberon, where he found Sir Edward Hawke again in command of the fleet.

His next employment was one of considerable delicacy, and called forth all his judgment.

Mr. Pitt had found his plan of harassing the enemy upon their own coasts so successful, that he determined to continue the same system of warfare, and fixed upon Belleisle as the next point of attack; but being unacquainted with the strength of the place, and the force requisite for its reduction, he selected Captain Keppel as a proper person to obtain the necessary information, and dispatched him accordingly, to make a survey of the coast, and to report thereupon.

After a careful examination of the defences of Belleisle, Keppel gave it as his opinion that a landing

was practicable; upon which, the minister resolved immediately to send a force against the island, and Keppel was ordered to assume the command of a squadron of twenty-one ships of war, including bombs and fire-ships, and place himself under the orders of Sir Edward Hawke, who was to have the immediate command of the expedition.

Having personally received all necessary instructions, he repaired to Portsmouth, and exerted himself in equipping the squadron for sea, and preparing the transports for the reception of the troops. They were commanded by Major-general Kingsley, assisted by Colonels Crawford and the Hon. William Keppel, brother to the Commodore, who were to act as brigadier-generals.

In the midst of Keppel's preparations, George the Second, who had taken much interest in the enterprise, died suddenly. Only two days before his death, he had reviewed one of the regiments destined to form part of the force against Belleisle, and the last question he ever asked was, whether the wind was favourable for the sailing of the squadron.

Soon after the accession of the new monarch, Keppel received from Lord Bute an intimation that the King had appointed him a Groom of the Bedchamber.

On the 28th of November, Keppel announced to Mr. Pitt that the expedition was ready for sea, and shortly afterwards the squadron dropped down St. Helens. While there, Keppel received the following letter from the Prime Minister:—

THE RT.-HON. WILLIAM PITT TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

"Whitehall, Dec. 11th, 1760.

"SIR,—The King having taken into consideration the long time that the troops have now been embarked, and it being apprehended that inconveniences may arise from their remaining any longer on board, I am commanded to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do not proceed to sea till further orders, and that in the meantime you do immediately disembark all the troops.

"I am, &c.

"W. PITT."

The enterprise against Belleisle was accordingly for a time laid aside.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SIEGE OF BELLEISLE—BLOCKADE OF THE WESTERN COAST OF FRANCE—CORRESPONDENCE.

Proud position of the country, at the accession of George the Third—Designs against Belleisle resumed—The naval part of the expedition entrusted to Keppel—Major-general Hodgson commands the land forces—Keppel's "Secret Instructions"—Departure of the squadron—Arrival at Belleisle—Unsuccessful attempt at landing—The British at length effect a descent upon the island—Keppel reinforced with five sail of the line—The King's approbation of his conduct—Letters from General Hodgson upon the operations of the land forces, and the capture of Belleisle—Keppel commands a squadron of sixty-three men of war—Establishes a blockade along the western coast of France—Correspondence.

1760 TO 1761.

NEVER had this country attained a prouder pre-eminence than at the period when George the Third ascended the throne. Success had attended the British arms in every quarter of the globe; but all other achievements were eclipsed by Hawke's splendid action off Ushant, by which the French maritime power was completely destroyed. War, not usually conducive to the prosperity of a country, had opened new sources of wealth to our merchants; for our fleets having annihilated the navigation of France,

our only formidable rival, the British traders were enabled to supply foreign markets upon their own terms.

France, on the other hand, had experienced nothing but disasters. Her armies had been defeated, and her fleets destroyed; her colonial possessions brought no returns, and her finances were in such a wretched condition, that the Government declared itself bankrupt in no less than eleven descriptions of stock to which its faith was plighted. The King affected to contract his personal expenses within the narrowest limits; and the nobility and clergy, in obedience to a begging ordonnance, sent their plate to the royal mint, to furnish specie for immediate use.

Notwithstanding her successes, England was desirous of peace; this was a feeling, however, in which France, in spite of her adversities, by no means participated. Relying upon the co-operation of Spain, she sought only to gain time to recruit her armies, and refit her fleets. With this view she proposed a cessation of hostilities while negotiations were pending. But Pitt, who was not deluded by the insidious proposal, evinced no anxiety to hasten the negotiations, and made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war.

The design against Belleisle was accordingly resumed, and the naval part of the expedition was now entrusted exclusively to Keppel, who was also appointed to the command of all ships of war stationed from Ushant to Cape Finisterre. In the month of March he hoisted his broad pendant on board the Valiant; and in consequence of his application to

Lord Anson, his friend Adam Duncan was appointed Captain under him.

The command of the land forces was committed to Major-general, afterwards Field-marshal, Studholme Hodgson. This officer had been aid-de-camp to the Commodore's father, Lord Albemarle, with whom he had served at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and all the principal actions in Flanders. He was subsequently transferred to the family of the Duke of Cumberland, and was present with his Royal Highness at the battle of Culloden. Something of the character of this officer may be gleaned from his letters, which also give an insight into the state of the army at that period. They are addressed to the Commodore's brother, George, Earl of Albemarle.

"Sackville-street, Saturday, 3 o'clock.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I was at least half an hour in the closet to-day, and it is impossible to tell your Lordship how excessively gracious the King was to me. Amongst the many flattering things his Majesty was pleased to say, he told me he should always have a partiality for the officers bred under the Duke ;* he looked upon that as the best school,—recommended the keeping of discipline, and was sorry to say it was relaxed in Germany,—ran over the characters of the field-officers who are to go with me, and I was surprised his Majesty knew so much of them ;—said he would fix their characters by what I said of them, and regulate their preferment accordingly,—that he

* Duke of Cumberland.

would approve of all my recommendations,—that he believed I was much in the right to give the preference to Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas for a quarter-master general. This paper would not contain half the gracious things.

"I afterwards waited on Mr. Pitt, by his appointment. The element was calm and serene,—not a dimple on the surface, but what was occasioned by a smile;—wondered I would go this afternoon,—why not stay till to-morrow?—recommended me not to stay for trifles if the wind was fair, or confine myself to forms; and has promised to support me in all stretches of power whatever, and against whomsoever. Told me, that perhaps the money might not be ready when we were to sail; but not to mind that, but go without it. I assured him that I would, and said, were things to be bought they might be taken. He kissed me, and did not doubt of my success.

"I beg your Lordship will lay me at H. R. H's feet, and present my most humble duty.

"I wish your Lordship success at Newmarket, and am, with sincerest regard,

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Ever most obliged and most humble servant,

"S. Hodgson."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Portsmouth, March 24th, 1761.

"My dear Lord,—I hope our business here will be finished before yours at Newmarket. We have

put all the troops on board except Loudon's regiment, and they will be up to embark on Thursday. Crauford's people look very well, but the five companies have but one Captain with them at present; three are absent with Lieutenant-general Pole's leave. All the staff are here, except Crauford, and he is expected very soon.

"Colville's regiment is a fine body of men, and if it had been in good hands might have been shewn against most of our present regiments. Stuart's is excessively bad, but Grey's ten thousand times worse, if possible, than the colonel reported it to be. The Commodore wanted me much to leave them both behind. They have had no clothing sent them, and are all in rags. If Lord George Beauclerc's, or the Scotch Fusiliers were to come within my reach in time, I should almost be tempted to take one of them with me, and leave the two vile battalions at home, purely to show I don't mind forms of office.

"Our money is arrived, and the Commodore will go on board to-morrow.

"I beg your Lordship will present my most humble duty to H. R. H.

"I am, with the greatest regard,

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most humble, and most obliged servant,

"S. Hodgson."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Portsmouth, March 28th, 1761.

"My dear Lord,—I hope this will meet your Lordship safely returned from Newmarket, and that H. R. H. has been successful in all his matches, and in everything else that was going forward at that place.

"The formidable corps under my command, amounts to no more than seven thousand men, so incomplete are the regiments; the officers absent is astonishing —fifteen in Beauclerk's only; the major and five captains are in that number.

"Captain Purcell is made major to Grey's, instead of Frazer, who we hear declined it. I have taken Captain Rooke, of Loudon's, for my aid-de-camp in his room. I have known him long, he has served a great many years, and with a good character.

"Craufurd is come, he seems to be in humour; he has brought Bruce with him, armed with a letter from Colonel Keppel.* It seems to be resolved that I am not to remain the only person in the army without a Scotch follower. I am stout yet, and have not broke through any rules I had laid down.

"Bruce has the pay of aid-de-camp to Craufurd; Preston the honour.

"I beg your Lordship will present my most humble duty to my master.

"I am, with the greatest esteem,

"My dear Lord, your Lordship's

"Most humble, and ever most obliged servant,

"S. Hodgson."

* The Hon. William Keppel, the Commodore's brother.

The following are the instructions furnished to Commodore Keppel :—

"*Secret Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved Augustus Keppel, Commander of certain of our ships of war, to be employed on a Secret Expedition. Given at our Court at St. James's, the twenty-fifth day of March,* 1761, *in the first year of our reign.*

"Whereas, we have thought it necessary to employ a considerable body of our land forces on a secret expedition, under the command of our trusty and well-beloved Studholme Hodgson, Esq., Major-General of our forces, which land forces, are at this time, at, and in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, with artillery, stores, and all other necessaries for this expedition, in order to be embarked on board transport vessels provided at Spithead for that purpose. We have thought fit to order a certain number of our ships of war, to be put under your command, to be also employed in the said expedition, and to give you the following Instructions for your conduct, in the execution of the great and important trust thereby reposed in you.

"1. You are, immediately upon the receipt of these instructions, to repair to Spithead, where we have directed a Squadron of our ships of the line, with frigates, bomb-vessels, and fireships, to be put under your command. And you are to cause the troops, artillery, stores, and whatever may have been prepared for this Expedition, to be immediately embarked on board the aforesaid transports, which are to carry a sufficient number of flat-bottomed boats to be used in debarking the troops, artillery, &c. as shall be embarked. You are to proceed with the same to the Great Road of Belleisle, where you are, as immediately as properly may be, to exert your utmost endeavours to land our forces on such part of the island of Belleisle, as shall be agreed upon by Major-General Hodgson, or the Commander-in-chief for the time being, of our land forces employed in this expedition, and yourself; and you are to co-operate with the ships and vessels under your command, in such manner as shall be most conducive to the said landing, and to the conquest of the whole Island of Belleisle.

"2. We, having directed Major-General Hodgson, in case by the blessing of God upon our arms, he shall succeed in the reduction of the said island of Belleisle, to place such sufficient garrison

of our forces, with all proper requisites in the citadel, and also in any other forts or posts in the said island, as he shall judge necessary for maintaining the said island, and remain in possession thereof, with the forces under his command, until further orders. Our will and pleasure is, that you do also remain, with the ships under your command, at or off the island of Belleisle, and co-operate in the most effectual manner with our land forces, for the maintenance and defence of the said island; and, in all respects, be aiding and assisting, as far as shall be in your power, towards the security and well-being of our forces there, until you shall receive further orders for your conduct.

"3. You are to transmit constant accounts of your proceedings to one of our principal secretaries of state, and to our commissioners for executing the office of our High Admiral of Great Britain; and you shall observe and follow all such orders and instructions as you shall receive from us, under our sign manual, or from one of our principal secretaries of state, or from our commissioners for executing the office of our High Admiral of Great Britain for the time being.

"4. As our service may require that you, or the Commander-in-chief of our land forces, should, on particular occasions, send a sloop, or small frigate, with despatches to England, you shall always take care to have with you one or more sloops, or small frigates, for that purpose.

"5. Whereas the success of this expedition will very much depend upon an entire good understanding between our sea and land officers, we do hereby strictly enjoin and require you, on your part, to maintain and cultivate such a good understanding and agreement, and to order the sailors and mariners, under your command, to assist our land forces, and to man the batteries when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the sea service: as we have instructed the Commander-in-chief of our land force, on his part, to entertain and cultivate the same good understanding and agreement, and to order that the soldiers under his command shall man the ships, when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the land service. And in order to establish the strictest union that may be between you and the said commander-in-chief of our land forces, you are hereby required to communicate these instructions to him, as he is directed to communicate those he shall receive to you.

"G. R."

The Commodore set sail from Spithead on the 29th of March, his squadron being disposed in the following divisions:—

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Divisions.*
Torbay	Capt. Brett	74	650	Sir Thos. Stanhope.
Essex	Schomberg	64	500	
Swiftsure	Sir Thos. Stanhope	70	520	
Achilles	Hon. Sam. Barrington	60	420	
Hampton Court	Scrope	64	480	The Hon. A. Keppel, Commander-in-chief.
Valiant	Com. the Hon. A. Keppel / Capt. A. Duncan	74	665	
Superbe	Rowley	74	650	
Prince of Orange	Wallis	60	420	
Dragon	Clevland	74	650	Captain Barton.
Sandwich	Norbury	90	750	
Temeraire	Barton	74	650	

With eleven frigates, fire-ships, and bombs.

One hundred transports were attached to the squadron, having on board ten regiments of the line, five independent companies, and three companies of the train of artillery. The force was nominally nine thousand men; but, as appears by General Hodgson's letter, did not amount to more than seven thousand.

Owing to contrary winds, it was not until the 7th of April that the fleet arrived off Belleisle.

This island, which, in 1761, contained about five thousand inhabitants, was the largest European island belonging to the French. It is about thirteen leagues in circumference, and is situated in the Bay of Biscay, about five or six leagues from the main land, forming a key to the whole of the western coast of France. It had formerly belonged to the family of Belleisle, but was given up to the French Crown, in 1718, in exchange for the duchy of Gisons. The principal town, Palais, derived its name from a castle belonging

to the Duke of Belleisle, in its neighbourhood, which was converted by the French government into a citadel, and strongly fortified by the celebrated Vauban. The three ports, Palais, Sauzon, and Goulfard, scarcely deserve the name of harbours, each labouring under some capital defect, either in being too much exposed, or too shallow, or otherwise dangerous at the entrance.

Public opinion appears to have been much divided as to the prudence of sending an expedition against this island. It was urged by some that its capture would afford a convenient roadstead for the British fleet employed in blockading the ports of France; that by being anchored between this island and the main, they could effectually prevent any junction between the Brest and Rochfort fleets, and, at the same time, be well situated to intercept all merchant vessels from gaining the harbours of Port Louis, Nants, La Rochelle, Bayonne, and Bourdeaux; that the island itself would form a depôt for supplying the ships of war with the requisite stores and provisions, and thereby prevent the necessity of returning to England for supplies; that its capture would be a grievous wound to the pride of France, and that those causes which had induced the French to expend a large sum of money on its fortifications, and to garrison them with a powerful army, would induce them to pay a high price for its restoration, when it came to be estimated in the treaty of peace. On the other hand, it was contended, that the poverty of the island, the want of harbours, and the inutility of the possession in the time of peace, would lead the French to lay no great stress upon it; added to which, its strong forti-

fications, and proximity to the French coast, made it evident that it could not be taken without much loss, or kept without considerable expense.

The tide of popularity had set in against the undertaking before Commodore Keppel had time to arrive at his destination.*

In the evening of the 7th of April, Commodore Keppel, having made the coast of France, detached six frigates, in order to cut off the enemy's communication with the main land. "The next morning," says Keppel, in his official dispatch, "the fleet passed the south end of Belleisle, close along the shore, and at one of the bays of Point Locmaria, the General and myself thought a descent might be tried; but as the wind was southerly, it could not possibly be attempted at this time. At twelve o'clock, the whole fleet anchored in the Great Road, when I immediately went with General Hodgson to the northern part of the island, to be as well informed of the strength of the enemy's works as the time would admit. While we were on this necessary service, the ships of war were preparing the flat-boats."

"The 8th, the boats being ready for the reception of the troops, the signal was made very early in the morning for them to assemble at the rendezvous, and three ships, with two bomb vessels, were ordered to

* In the fly-leaf of the Quarter Deck Order Book of the Valiant is the following entry, in the hand-writing of Keppel's secretary, Mr. Rogers:—"Quarter-Deck Order Book, on board the Valiant, at Belle Isle, in 1761, and at the Havanna, in 1762; I believe the *first of the kind* practised for the dispatch of orders." Since that time, the Quarter Deck Order Book has been universally adopted in the navy.

proceed round the point of Locmaria, at the south-east part of the island, and attack the fort, and other works in the sandy bay, round the point beforementioned, the place the General and myself had agreed to have attacked."*

Upon the occasion of this attack, Commodore Keppel shifted his broad pendant to the Prince of Orange, in which ship he proceeded, accompanied by the Achilles and Dragon, to cover the landing of the troops, and to silence a fort that had opened a heavy fire upon them. This was effected in the course of half an hour, when, continues Keppel, "the troops in the boats were pushed towards the landing with great briskness and spirited behaviour, at three different places near each other, by Captain Barton, whom I ordered to command the boats, but the difficulty of getting footing, and the enemy strongly entrenched on the heights and in the forts, the troops soon met such a repulse, that it became necessary, as well as prudent, to desist from the attempt for the present, and retire well covered by the ships and bombs."

"I hope some spot may be agreed upon, where we may be more successful in the attempt than we were on the 8th, but if not so, I hope his Majesty will believe I have had nothing more at heart than the exerting the force entrusted to me, in a manner most conducive to the honour of his arms."†

The military operations of this unsuccessful attempt at a landing, will be best explained by the General's letter :—

* Commodore Keppel's dispatch. † Ibid.

MAJOR-GENERAL HODGSON TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"Valiant, off Belleisle, April 12th, 1761.

"My dear Lord,—The fleet and transports arrived in this Road, on Tuesday, the 7th instant, about twelve o'clock. As soon as the ships came to an anchor, the Commodore and I went to take a view of the coast, which is the most inaccessible I ever saw: the whole island is a fortification; the little nature has left undone has been amply supplied by art. The enemy have been at work upon it ever since Sir Edward Hawke appeared here in the winter, but all this is nothing: the fashion of the times required extraordinary measures, therefore when we returned from reconnoitring, we agreed that Port St. Andro, on the south-east part of the island, was the most practicable place to attempt a descent; in consequence of which, I ordered the troops to be in readiness to embark in the flat-bottomed boats early in the morning, that I might attempt a landing, when the men of war had silenced a four-gun battery which commanded the entrance of the Bay, which was done by the Achilles. The troops were then ready to push in with the boats. When we came into the Bay, we found the enemy strongly intrenched on each side of the hill, (which forms a sort of amphitheatre,) extremely steep, and scarped away at the bottom; it was impossible to get up to the breastwork. After several efforts, I thought it advisable to desist. We came off very well in our retreat, as the fire of the ships prevented the enemy from coming to the brink

of the rocks to fire on the boats. We have lost half our flat-bottomed boats, from the bad weather which came on that night, and lasted all the next day. The men were obliged, when they came off, to go to the next ship they could get up with. I have not been able to get them all to their own ships yet.

"I believe we lost, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, about five hundred men. I have not yet been able to get the returns. The enemy have taken fifteen officers prisoners. Maclean and Purcell were the field officers I posted to the Grenadiers. Purcell is killed, and Maclean had his arm broke with a musket-shot, and is taken prisoner. Colonel Thomas is wounded in the thigh, and prisoner. My secretary, who was on the poop, on board the Dragon, looking through a glass to satisfy his curiosity, has got a shot in his forehead, and put a stop to the business in the chancellerie. Poor Carleton* is wounded in the thigh, but will do well. I went on board his ship to see him last night.

"I beg your Lordship to present my most humble duty to H. R. H.

"I am, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most humble and ever most obliged servant,

"S. Hodgson."

This failure seems to have produced a conviction upon the minds of both the General and the Commodore, that a landing was wholly unfeasible. Keppel, in writing to Mr. Pitt, on the 18th of April, says, "No

* Created Lord Dorchester, in 1786.

time has been lost in getting everything necessary for another attempt to land his Majesty's troops on Belleisle. The whole island has been since viewed, and examined with great care. I am indeed sorry to say that the great attention and judgment the enemy have had for its defence against a landing, is such, that it does not appear a second trial can be made with any hopes of success." General Hodgson's letter is to the same purport:—"I have attended the Commodore twice, in order to take views of the coast, and I am extremely sorry to inform you, that, from the natural situation of the island, and the great precautions the enemy have taken to fortify the few accessible parts of it, I think it is quite impracticable to make good a landing."

But although the military and naval commanders expressed thus strongly their opinion of the defences of Belleisle, the doubts they entertained of success in the object they had been sent to accomplish in no way affected their conduct. The whole coast was again reconnoitred with the greatest possible care, and another attempt at landing was agreed upon as soon as the weather could allow it to be made.

The project was put into execution on the 22nd of April. The principal attack, under the conduct of Major-general Craufurd, was to be made at a place called Fort d'Arsic, where the excessive steepness of the rocks had made the enemy less attentive to the works than elsewhere. To distract the attention of the besieged, and to oblige them to divide their forces, a body of troops under the command of Brigadier-general Lambert, was to make two feints at once,—

one near St. Foy, the other at the town of Sauçon, the Brigadier being ordered to make his landing good in either place, if he thought he should be able to maintain his ground.

In furtherance of this plan, the Commodore attached a portion of his squadron to each corps of the army. Captain Barton was entrusted with the debarkation of the troops at Fort d'Arsic, and Sir Thomas Stanhope was ordered to attend to the movements of the corps under Brigadier-general Lambert.

At an early hour in the morning of the 22nd, the ships had reached their several stations, and soon after opened a heavy fire upon the enemy's batteries, which they succeeded in silencing before the troops had reached the shore.

While the squadron was thus employed, the troops were conveyed to the rendezvous, to be ready for the descent. The signal was made at about three in the afternoon. The two divisions at first kept close together, but when nearly abreast of the spots agreed upon, rowed directly towards their respective stations.

Brigadier-general Lambert, being of opinion that the place he was sent against was weakly guarded, ordered his troops to land. The order was promptly obeyed, and a party succeeded in climbing up a rock near Point Locmaria, the ascent of which the French believed to be impossible.

Sir Thomas Stanhope, who soon perceived that Lambert's division had effected a landing, dispatched all his boats manned and armed to their assistance, and at the same time Craufurd's division rowed

directly to the succour of Lambert, who, thus reinforced, marched up the hill. The enemy behaved with great bravery, but were compelled to fly, leaving their wounded and several brass pieces in the hands of the assailants.

All the troops were landed by five in the evening, and General Hodgson followed up the advantage he had gained, by pursuing the enemy into the interior, and taking up a position upon a commanding eminence.

The Commodore's account of the transaction of his squadron in this affair produced the following answer from the Prime Minister:—

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

"Whitehall, May 1st, 1761.

"Sir,—Yesterday morning Captain Barrington arrived with your letter of the 23rd past, which was immediately laid before the King; and I am commanded by his Majesty not to lose a moment's time in expressing to you, in the strongest terms, his entire approbation of your proceedings and steady perseverance in the execution of the important enterprise committed to your care.

"The King takes particular satisfaction in the account you give of the bravery and good conduct of the officers and men under your command, whereby you have been able to surmount, with so much honour to his Majesty's arms, the difficulties you had to encounter.

"His Majesty has the firmest reliance on the con-

tinuance of the same spirit and vigour in the further operations to be undertaken on the island of Belleisle, which, there is the greatest reason to trust, will, by the blessing of God, shortly accomplish what remains to be done for the entire reduction of the said island.

"I have at present only to add, that it is the King's pleasure that you should, in the manner you shall judge most proper, acquaint all the officers and men (particularly those gentlemen mentioned in your letter of the 13th, as well as in that of the 23rd, past) with the just sense his Majesty has of the zeal and courage they have so eminently exerted in the King's service.

"Give me leave to congratulate you on the great and additional honour you have acquired on this occasion, and to assure you of the perfect truth and regard with which I am, &c.

"W. PITT."*

Keppel was soon after reinforced by five sail of the line. At the same time, the King's continued approbation of his conduct was thus announced to him :—

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

"Whitehall, May 23, 1761.

"SIR,—I was favoured last Thursday with your letters of the 9th, 10th, and 12th instant, which were immediately laid before the King; and, as you will receive from the Lords of the Admiralty an account of the strong reinforcement of ships ordered to join the squadron under your command, I have at present

* Lord Lansdowne's MSS. "Belleisle," No. 42.

only to add, that it is hoped these ships will soon reach their destination.

"The King has the most entire reliance on your vigilance, conduct, and vigour, and that all efforts will continue to be exerted on your part, effectually to prevent French succours getting to Belleisle; and his Majesty trusts that, reinforced as you are, all attempts of the enemy's fleet would, by the blessing of God, not only be rendered fruitless, but might prove in the end fatal to themselves.

"I am, &c., W. PITT."*

On the 29th of May, Mr. Pitt again writes to him, approving of his "zeal, activity, and ability," and trusting he will "add lustre to his Majesty's naval arms."

The instructions which accompanied this letter will shew the extensive designs that Pitt had, at that time, in contemplation:—

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

("MOST SECRET.)

"Whitehall, May 29, 1761.

"SIR,—I am to recommend to you to procure, with the utmost secrecy, and transmit the same as immediately as may be, for his Majesty's information, such lights as you think you can depend on, relative to the soundings and landings along the western coast of France; particularly at L'Orient, and Port Louis; the Isles of Oleron and Ré; the river of Bourdeaux, and Bassin d'Arcasson; together with any informa-

* Lord Lansdowne's MSS. "Belleisle," No. 64.

tion you can obtain, consistent with the indispensable secrecy of this matter, concerning the nature and strength of any fortifications or works at the places above mentioned, or any other that shall occur to you.

"I am, &c., W. PITT."

It does not come within the province of this memoir to give a detailed account of the military operations against Belleisle; but the following letters, from Keppel's able coadjutor, will not be found devoid of interest:—

MAJOR-GEN. HODGSON TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"Belleisle, the Camp of Bunger, April 29, 1761.

"MY DEAR LORD,—The frigate sent to England with the news of our having landed, was dispatched so immediately after we had effected it, that I had only time to write three lines to Mr. Pitt, to acquaint his Majesty with our success, as I was marching with the army towards Palais.

"I have taken a camp in the front of the Bunger, our right to the sea, and have fortified as many posts as my strength would admit of. I have also sent Stuart's and Grey's wretched battalions to occupy Suzon, that I may prevent the enemy, if possible, throwing succours into the citadel, in case any of their vessels, with troops in them, should happen to slip by our ships in the night. They have a great body of troops at Vannes, watching for an opportunity to get to the island.

"I have wrote for two more regiments. I have seven battalions with me who are not to be depended

upon. I have also desired more engineers, and that some of them may have seen service: the six I now have are unacquainted with the practical part of their profession. I dare say they made a good figure at the academy; but I think them very unequal to the conducting of a siege.

"They have sent me the gabions and fascines* which were intended for Kingley's expedition, and have laid in the dockyard from that time, and are very proper for the use of the bakers. Here is hardly a tree upon the island; so I have desired Lord Ligonier† to order a supply to be sent me of fascines and gabions.

"We have had most terrible weather, but to-day is more moderate. I hope they will begin to land the heavy artillery. Desaguliers tells me, if they should have no interruption from the weather, that they shall be upwards of a fortnight in getting their apparatus up to camp.

"The King has had the misfortune of losing a great general. Sir William Williams, contrary to a standing order I gave out, passed our chain of sentries on

*. Gabions are wicker baskets filled with earth, used to form entrenchments. Fascines,—fagots for the same purpose.

† Field-marshal Viscount Ligonier, Commander-in-chief, and Master-general of the Ordnance. He had greatly distinguished himself under the Dukes of Marlborough and Cumberland. At Laffeldt, "at the head of three British regiments of dragoons and some squadrons of imperial horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry with such intrepidity and success, that he overthrew all that opposed him, and made such a diversion as enabled the Duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. He himself was taken by a French carabineer, after his horse had been killed."—Smollett's History of England, vol. iii. p. 211.

Sunday night, and was shot by an advanced sentry of the enemy.*

"I beg your Lordship will present my most humble duty to H. R. H., my royal master.

"I am, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most humble and ever most obliged servant,

"S. HODGSON."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Belleisle, May 17th, 1761.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I think myself infinitely obliged to your Lordship for the favour of your letter, because, from long experience, I know your Lordship's congratulations are attended with sincerity. For those poor dirty fellows, who praise or condemn according to the fashion of the times, my contempt for them,

* Sir William Peere Williams, a young man who had made some figure in Parliament, came out to Belleisle as a sort of military amateur. Walpole says, "Lord Downe, Lord Pulteney, and Sir William Peere Williams, had received general commissions to act as officers, yet their seats in Parliament had not been declared vacant. As this was an innovation, Sir John Philips desired to have the case explained. Sir William Williams took upon him to explain it—declared he had no pay, never would accept pay, and had only a commission to raise men, as his zeal prompted him to do." "These three spirited young men," says Lord Holland, in a note to Walpole, "were taken off soon after this period, (1759.) Lord Downe was killed in Spain, Sir W. Williams at Belleisle, and Lord Pulteney died in Spain, on his return to England."—Walpole's Memoirs of George the Second, vol. ii. p. 396.

The body of Sir William was taken up by some of the garrison. The French commandant, judging it to be a person of distinction, sent a drummer to General Hodgson, to send for the corpse. A British sentry, in his zeal to avenge the death of Sir William, shot the drummer, and was instantly ordered to be hanged; but St. Croix sent another drummer, and pleaded for the delinquent, who was pardoned in consequence.

if possible, surpasses their meanness. I have hitherto been most fortunate, and of course must have a great deal of merit. I flatter myself my good fortune will attend me a little longer.

" I beg you will present my most humble duty to my royal master. I shall most certainly follow the advice which H. R. H. was graciously pleased to send me by Major Rooke. I have a great many rotten corps in this little army : cautious proceedings are absolutely necessary. I beg your Lordship will present my most humble thanks for the plan of Belleisle. They have added a great many works since that was drawn. I have ordered one to be done for H. R. H.

" I made a most successful attack on Wednesday morning, at break of day, on a very strong redoubt, to the right of our first parallel ; the enemy retarded our work very much from it with their small arms ; it was difficult, if not impracticable, to take it without making a breach. I had a battery raised for five twenty-four pounders, which fired upon it at about three hundred yards distance, without making much impression ; indeed, two of our fine brass guns cracked—one after firing twenty times, and the other, only nine, and letting cool between each discharge. I determined to take another method, as I foresaw this would be a very tedious one. I ordered the commanding officer of the artillery to bring the mortars, royals, cohorns, and everything he could fire with to the right of the trenches, and begin firing a little before daybreak, and continue it. At the same time, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Philips, who com-

manded the advanced post next the sea, to have a captain and one hundred men advanced a little before his village, at break of day, ready to march and attack the enemy, if he saw them uneasy with our fire, and getting into the opposite ditch to cover them the better from it: the instant he marched to attack the enemy, I ordered him to fire six shot from the six-pounders, which was to be a signal for our artillery to cease firing, and for Lieutenant-colonel Jennings to send two hundred men from the right of the trenches to support the attack. We were upon the enemy at the time of their re-entering the fort; and, after a pretty smart dispute, we carried it. We had only fifteen men killed, and twenty-nine wounded, and seventy-five made prisoners, amongst which number are five officers. Jennings and Philips obeyed my orders to the letter: they are two excellent officers. The enemy, the instant we were masters of this redoubt, quitted all the others, from an apprehension that I should cut 'em off from the citadel. I profited by their unaccountable behaviour, and immediately took possession of them, and had drawn a line of communication. I have a post of five hundred men in the town of Palais. I have finished my second parallel, within two hundred and fifty yards of the walls, and hope to have a battery of twelve two-and-thirty pounders, which I have had from the Commodore, ready to fire on the bastion Dauphin by Wednesday morning; and on Thursday I hope to have a battery of ten twenty-four-pounders (also from the ships) ready to fire on the bastion la Mer.

"It is impossible to tell you what a set of wretches

I have for engineers, and none of them more worthless than the great Captain Walker. If I had had Fife for my chief engineer, I believe I should have been master of the citadel by this time.

"I have been most cruelly treated by the Board of Ordnance. If I take the place, and live to come home, and find Mr. Pitt a minister, I think I shall be able to make him hang Sir Charles Frederick in his red ribbon; my love of discipline will not allow me to look higher.

"Your Lordship's friend, Craufurd, was taken prisoner, like a simpleton. Take John out of a regimental way, and he is a poor subject.*

"Poor Fawkener has had a dangerous wound in his head with a grape-shot. He has been trepanned; and the surgeons have hopes of him. He is a brave lad.

"I beg your Lordship will make my compliments to Napier and Watson.

"I am, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most humble and most obliged servant,

"S. HODGSON."

* Brigadier-general Craufurd appears, by his letters, to have been a protégé of Lord Albemarle. He was one of the Council of War who, in 1756, decided against weakening the garrison of Gibraltar by dispatching a regiment to the relief of Minorca. This decision seems to have drawn down upon him the anger of the Duke of Cumberland. In a letter of eight pages of explanation to Lord Albemarle, dated "Gibraltar, 4th July, 1757," he says, "though it is next to sending me to Hell to imagine I labour under H. R. H.'s displeasure, yet I am determined to bear it till other people of more consequence have it in their power to explain the motives of their proceedings." (Lord Albemarle's MSS.) By the appointment of Craufurd to the Belleisle expedition, it is to be presumed that, in the interim, his peace was made.

"P.S.—I keep a table for sixteen; and I do assure your Lordship that John Stephens gives very good dinners. He is very sober and very honest."

On the 7th of June, after a most vigorous resistance, the French garrison capitulated, and were allowed to march through the breach with the honours of war, "in favour of the gallant defence"* they had made under the orders of their brave commander, the Chevalier de St. Croix.†

The following letters will shew some of the difficulties that General Hodgson had to contend with in achieving this glorious enterprise:—

MAJOR-GENERAL HODGSON TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"Island of Belleisle, June 8th, 1761.

"My dear Lord,—I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that the citadel of Palais surrendered yesterday to his Majesty's arms. Enclosed I do myself the honour to send you the capitulation. The garrison must be lucky to march through the breach without broken bones. I was to have had my last supply of ammunition from the Commodore this morning. For this week past I have been reduced to fire only twenty-four rounds a-day. Lord Ligonier has been pressed over and over to send me a supply of ammunition; instead of which, his Lordship sent me, last week, two ordnance ships, laden with wheelbarrows and empty shells. He has wrote me a letter

* The terms of the capitulation.

† The military reader who may wish to know what regiments assisted at the reduction of Belleisle, will find a return of the troops at Appendix F of this volume.

full of friendship; and, at the same time, his Lordship is pleased to insinuate that I used too much ammunition in taking the redoubts on the 13th of May, as powder is very expensive. His Lordship also sends me a return of his Majesty's forces under my command, making them to amount to three thousand more than they ever were since I have had the command of them. How to account for this extraordinary step I am at a loss, as I have sent monthly returns regularly. Surely, Lady Betty Germain* is at the head of the army; and her ladyship has had the impertinence to sign herself Ligonier.

"I hear some scoundrels have spread a report that the Commodore and I have disagreed. I believe there never was more friendship and more harmony between two persons since the creation of the world than has subsisted between us. We have had a thorough confidence in each other; and the continuance of which nothing can interrupt. The two services have acted as one corps ever since we left England. The Commodore has left himself so bare of ammunition, by the supplies he has, from time to time, given me, that he has hardly a sufficiency to give the enemy's fleet a proper reception in case they should make him a visit.†

* Lady Betty Germain, second daughter of the Earl of Berkeley, and widow of Sir John Germain, a Dutch gentleman, and Baronet, of Drayton, in Northamptonshire. She was a very eccentric character, and a great political *intriguante*. She died in 1769. Her nephew, Lord George Sackville, afterwards Lord Sackville, succeeded to her property, and assumed the name of Germain.

† So deficient was the supply of powder to the troops from the Board of Ordnance, that Commodore Keppel, after providing them with all the

"I return your Lordship a thousand, thousand thanks, for the great trouble you have taken in putting Mrs. Hodgson in possession of the new lodge.

"I beg your Lordship will present my most humble duty to my royal master. I hope to God Mr. Pitt will confine our future operations for the summer to islands; if he puts us on the Continent, we shall be finely dressed, as I have some very ticklish corps with me. "I am, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's,

"Most humble and ever most obliged servant,

"S. HODGSON."

MAJOR-GEN. HODGSON TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"Palais, Island of Belleisle, July 10, 1761.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I hear his Lordship (Ligonier) still persists that the Board of Ordnance supplied me with a sufficient proportion of stores, &c., for the expedition; and that at first I had thirteen hundred rounds for every piece of cannon. This he had the modesty to say to Major Rooke; but being hard pressed, he told the Major, that Lord Anson had given him a copy of a letter from Mr. Keppel, acquainting his Lordship, that the fleet could supply both the army and his Majesty's ships with ammunition. This I have told the Commodore, who says, "It's a damned l—." I should have let his lordship

ammunition he could spare, was obliged to send an express to Admiral Durell, the Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth, for a fresh supply, and to urge him not to lose a moment in its dispatch; "as," said he, "a day may be of the utmost consequence at this critical moment."

down very gently, if he would have held his tongue; but as he has been pleased to say, I have misrepresented facts to Mr. Pitt, his Lordship makes it necessary to push the affair to the utmost. I know the extent of his candour and veracity, when his Lordship has private views to serve.

"I am, with the truest friendship and regard,

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's

"Most humble and ever most obliged servant,

"S. HODGSON."

In another letter to Lord Albemarle, General Hodgson says:—"When a man's character is unjustly attacked, he owes it to his friends, and to his own reputation, to justify himself to the world. What I mean, my dear Lord, by the world, are those few for whose opinions we have a regard, and not your Fredericks,* and ten thousand other scrubs I could name. I shall therefore presume, without any further preface, to send your Lordship the enclosed papers. They will either serve as a monument of Lord Ligonier's knowledge of the military transactions of his own time, or a confutation of his Lordship's assertion to Major Rooke, and several other persons, that there never was so much ammunition consumed at any one siege — not even that of Lisle,† — as I have wasted before the citadel of Palais. Facts, advanced by one of his Lordship's age and service,

* Sir Charles Frederick.

† Lisle had held out for ten weeks against the allied armies under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugène.

will, if not timely contradicted, make impressions; for mankind are too ready to give credit to what old people say, thinking as they are on the verge of the other world, that they will not leave this with a lie in their mouths. This is being too indulgent to them, for they should rather be looked upon as children, who weakly think that their lies will not be detected, or they don't consider the evil consequences of them.

"I suppose after the coronation is over, I may expect to receive orders for England. I presume they will hardly keep two Kings of Brentford here all the winter. The Commodore has been ill two or three days, but at present is perfectly well. Your friend, Sir Thomas Wilson,* makes an excellent adjutant-general, and is one of the honestest fellows I know. I am to beg the favour of your Lordship to present my most humble duty to H. R. H.

"I am, with the truest esteem and regard,
"My dear Lord,
"Your Lordship's
"Most humble, and ever most obliged
"And obedient servant,
"S. Hodgson."

During the time of the siege, the Commodore was occupied in preventing any succours being thrown into the island, and assisting the army with ammunition and provisions. The enemy was in the meanwhile busily engaged in fitting out at Brest and Rochfort, fifteen sail of the line, to be commanded by

* He was shortly afterwards promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and colonel of the 50th regiment of foot, and appointed aid-de-camp to the King.

Mons. Cornic, and every man belonging to their privateers and coasting trade, was pressed into the service of this powerful fleet.

As soon as intelligence of the enemy's operations reached Mr. Pitt, the Commodore's force was increased by the addition of several ships of the line, which enabled him to send one squadron under Captain Buckle, to blockade Brest, and another under Sir Thomas Stanhope, to prevent the Rochfort ships getting to sea. He appears to have been much flattered by this increase in his command, and also by the notice the King had taken of himself and those under him. He says—"This is an additional trust, that I think myself highly honoured by, and wish my ability was in any degree equal to so extensive a command." In another letter he says—"I am made very happy by the approbation his Majesty has been pleased to express of my conduct, and have acquainted the seamen how graciously the King has taken notice of their exertions on the 8th and 22nd of April, which is sensibly felt by them."

COMMODORE KEPPEL TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM PITT.

"Off Belleisle, 31st May, 1761.

"SIR,—I am honoured with your letter of the 23rd, and the reliance, you are pleased to express, his Majesty has upon my vigilance and attention, is too flattering not to be made very happy by, and I hope nothing will happen to lessen me in the gracious opinion his Majesty has of me.

" I believe I may with safety assure you, that since my arrival off Belleisle, not twenty persons have got into the island. The enemy had a post boat which was very small, that escaped us once or twice in the dark nights, but at last fell into our hands in coming out of Palais. There was an officer in her, who, if he had any despatches, threw them into the sea, but I hope the communication is put a stop to.

" The Duke d'Aiguillon attempted to get an artillery officer over, about four nights ago; he likewise fell into our hands, but is too prudent for me to learn anything from him.

" The arrival of force from England has enabled me to dispatch a squadron of six ships of the line, a frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel, to Aix Road. If the enemy are so equipped as to be down in the Road, they must try their force with the King's ships, or retire into the harbour. If the first, I hope very soon to be able to give you a good account of them. If the latter, they will be disgraced and confined to the harbour as long as it is thought proper to keep them there.

" I send three large ships to join the Namur, off Brest, and will send others as they arrive.

" I mentioned, in a former letter I had the honour of writing you, that as Belleisle was the principal object of my instructions from the King, I should always keep a large force with me, which I think should not at present be less than eleven sail of the line; not only to oppose an enemy's squadron, but from the works that are expected from the seamen, and supplies of stores that are hourly called for from the ships.

"I have enclosed you some articles of intelligence. I am not able to say what reliance may be placed on them, but I may so far say, that I believe the enemy are alarmed from one end of the coast to the other, and do not like the neighbourhood of his Majesty's force.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

After the French troops had been landed at Port Louis, according to the articles of capitulation, Commodore Keppel, whose command extended along the western coast of France, proceeded to distribute his force, which now consisted of sixty-three men of war. The assignment of so important a command to a post captain, is a proof of the high opinion that was entertained of his courage and abilities. Remaining himself at Belleisle, with seven or eight line-of-battle ships, he directed the operations of two squadrons, under Sir Thomas Stanhope and Captain Spry. The former was stationed in Basque Roads, to watch the enemy's motions in the Charente, while the latter was blockading the enemy's squadron lying in Brest harbour.

The brilliant success of the British arms at Belleisle, so alarmed the enemy for the safety of the other islands on their coast, that they sent a vast number of troops to Groa, Rhé, and Oleron, and lost no time in placing their islands in a state of defence. At the same time the men of war in the Charente were brought to the mouth of the river, in order to intimi-

date the English squadron, or watch their opportunity of slipping out, and joining the Brest division.

The Commodore, in one of his letters, writes, "I hope the enemy will either be shamed to come out, or spoil their master's ships by the manner in which they are obliged to be armed, as they lay upon the ground nine hours in twelve, and very often much upon their sides; this, with their masts up and guns in, must, I should think, in time strain and hurt the ships exceedingly." The enemy had soon cause to be of the same opinion, being obliged to withdraw one of their largest ships, in consequence of the injury she had received from being constantly aground.

In the meantime the destruction of the forts at Aix was rapidly proceeding, a work which the Commodore, in order to render effectual, sent miners to perform. This was a grievous wound to the pride of the French, who were obliged to witness the demolition of these works from their own shores. The enemy twice endeavoured, but ineffectually, to drive the British squadron from the island. The latter attempt introduced a species of warfare somewhat different from that to which our sailors had been accustomed. The account of it is from the officer commanding the ships immediately employed on the occasion:—

CAPTAIN PARKER TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

"July 21st, 1761.

"SIR,—At seven o'clock yesterday morning, the enemy's six prames loosed their topsails, and got under sail, attended by some galleys, and a number

of large boats and launches full of men. They stood towards us with a land wind in a close line a-head, and from that motion, and the number of them, I judged they intended to attack us with resolution, but they soon hauled their wind, and brought up in a regular line upon the shoals, about two gun-shot from us, and at a quarter past nine began to bombard. In less than half an hour they got the distance exact, and we veered away, to be out of the range of their shells; but we found that when we veered, they weighed anchor and dropped with the tide, and still preserved their distance. On which all the ships hove a-head, expecting that they had neared us, so much so as to bring them within reach of our cannon, and we imagined that several of our shot struck them. At half an hour after eleven, our own long-boats, and those of the ships in Basque Road, came to assist us, and the ebb tide being almost spent, we prepared to warp nearer the enemy. About the same time, the Actæon, and Fly, and Blast sloops joined us; the two latter I ordered to keep under sail, and the former to range along the prames, and to give them her broadside as she passed, in order to amuse them, and draw their attention from the boats employed in carrying out warps, and from throwing shells at the line-of-battle ships, many of which fell as near as possible without touching. At half-past twelve, the Actæon ran aground on the tail of Pall bank; the boats were immediately dispatched with stream anchors and hawsers, to her assistance, and about two o'clock she floated. This accident prevented all the ships from

warping, except the Nassau, who was directed to cover the Actæon, and she laid out warps, which obliged five of the prames, the tide of flood now making, to retreat to their moorings, and the other to get under the cannon of the south point of Oleron.

"During the bombardment, Captain Chaplen threw from the Furnace thirty-two shells, which were extremely well-directed. This morning, one of the five prames dropped with the flood above the men of war in the river.

"The Actæon had four men killed and one wounded, and a great part of her rigging cut."

A few extracts from Keppel's letters to the captains of his fleet, may serve to shew the manner in which he contrived to combine discipline and the most friendly relations with those under his command:—

COMMODORE KEPPEL TO CAPTAIN SPRY.*

"July 23rd.

"DEAR SIR,—In Captain Bentinck's weekly account of the condition of his ship,† he says, '*wants cleaning*:' this is a new way; I beg you will let him know that the senior officer is always the proper judge; but this as gently as you please, as I believe he is a good young man.

"I am, dear sir, wishing Mons. Blenac to give you

* Captain, afterwards Rear-Admiral, Sir Richard Spry was employed in the expedition against Pondicherry; and, in 1755, commanded a small squadron cruising off Louisbourg, where by "a prudent disposition of his force, that port was much straitened, and a number of important prizes taken." (Charnock.) In 1757, he assisted at the complete reduction of the fortress of Louisbourg.

† The Niger.

a meeting, that you may confirm the world in the good opinion they already entertain of you,

"Your very, &c.

"A. KEPPEL.

"P. S.—I wish it was in my power to send Montague* to Portsmouth, but it really is not, unless you are lucky enough to take a king's ship; that, indeed, would serve as an excuse for doing it. We all wish for the occasion happening."

TO THE SAME.

"28th July, 1761.

"THE enemy have made another attempt with their prames upon the ships in Aix Road; but it ended as disgracefully to them as their first trial did. The Actæon had four men killed, which I think is the chief of the damage received. The fortification that was on the island is now a complete ruin."

To Sir Thomas Stanhope† he writes: "I think the enemy had better save their credit, than behave repeatedly in so disgraceful a manner."

TO CAPTAIN SPRY.

"Aug. 8th, 1761.

"YOU must let me know when you are tired of your command, that I may give you a ride upon the

* Captain of the Princess Amelia.

† Sir Thomas Stanhope, descended from the Stanhopes of Shelford, highly distinguished himself under Boscawen, in his attack and defeat of De la Clue's squadron; and shared with Keppel the honour of commanding one of the eight ships that bore the brunt of Hawke's engagement off Ushant. In 1762, he succeeded Sir Piercy Brett, as Colonel of Marines, but did not live to become a flag-officer.

island. It is not improbable that Captain Buckle and some others may join, as I wrote to desire two or three ships, in addition to what were before Brest, to make the relief the easier and quicker. If Buckle is out, I suppose I shall soon hear from him.

"I believe, if it was equally convenient to you, it might be more advantageous to Captain Hotham, if you would send the Æolus here when she can cruise no longer. If Dame Fortune should give you one of the French ships of war, the sooner I could know it the better, as perhaps it may be necessary to give you an additional ship, for you would be obliged to send off a ship with your prize. Spithead, or the Downs, would be the best place, and nearer the river; but as this is, according to an old saying, 'eating the bird before the egg is laid,' I shall say no more about it.

"I wish my very bad luck may not overbalance the good luck that belongs to you.

"I give you joy of the signal and repeated successes of his Majesty's arms within this little while. All is as it was at Rochfort.

"I am, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

TO CAPTAIN AMHERST.

"August 10, 1761.

"I WILL send the Druid to you for a week. The vessel is not equally good to the young man's* inclination, though I believe in good weather she goes fast. I am glad to hear the Arrogant sails well.

* Captain Luttrell.

If she and the Royal William keep the hog going,* I think no homeward-bound ship can outstrip you.

"I wish you success, and am, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

TO SIR THOMAS STANHOPE.

"August 10, 1761.

"I AM favoured with your letters by the Prince of Orange, Southampton, and Wasp, and congratulate you on the completion of the ruins of Aix: the more pleasantly, as the enemy's efforts to remove the ships could not succeed.

"The successes of the King's forces lately, have been such as to create universal joy all over England. The disinclination of France to peace, upon England's terms, may now be lessened, as their prospect is not very encouraging. The Spaniards, I should believe, have business enough, without meddling with the affairs of England and France."†

"Some of the enemy's trading ships are expected into the bay, as well as the ships from St. Domingo; so that it is advisable, when the service admits of it, to cover the entrance of Bordeaux, as well as the Pertuis d'Antioche.

"Though the enemy should be dismantled, it will be judgment to shew yourself in Basque Road now and then, for a few days; but I need not repeat

* "Hogging." A method of cleansing a ship's bottom from the weeds and other marine substances, which, before the introduction of covering with copper, attached themselves in such quantities, as materially to retard her sailing.

† The Commodore proved a bad prophet. Very shortly afterwards war was declared against Spain.

these my desires, as I really, without flattery, am exceedingly pleased with your whole proceeding. It is a great pleasure also to me, which you will be glad to hear, that I am well served by Captain Spry, whose attention and diligence is very great; so that, though the Flag* does not come, I am happy in the execution of the very great trust reposed in me."

TO CAPTAIN BRETT,

Of his Majesty's ship Torbay, off the Isle of Groa.

"August 20, 1761.

"THE ship that got into Port Louis is certainly the Sage, of sixty-four guns, from the West Indies; and the Courageux† and frigates may be hourly expected: to what spot I can't say. I think it therefore best for the service, that the ships remain out till I call them in; and as the easterly wind may occasion the enemy to cross to the southward, it will be right for one ship and the Weazle to take that route. Bowley's is the most proper ship, unless you like it yourself; in that case you will proceed, and order the Superbe, Prince of Orange, and two bombs, to remain between Belleisle and the Glenans."

* Anson was at this time endeavouring to obtain for Keppel the rank of Rear-Admiral, a distinction which he did not live to see bestowed on his pupil, who was not promoted until six months after his Lord (Anson's) death.

† The Courageux was captured by Captain Faulkner, in the Bellona, four days prior to the date of this letter. The action was one of the most bloody that was fought during the whole war. Both ships mounted seventy-four guns. The Courageux had seven hundred men on board, whereas the Bellona could only muster five hundred and fifty. After a most gallant resistance of three quarters of an hour, the Frenchman struck to Faulkner, but not until he had two hundred and forty men killed and a hundred and ten wounded.

TO CAPTAIN SPRY.

"August 21, 1761.

"You will know by this time that the Sage has been lucky enough to pass by the Arrogant and Royal William, without being seen, and got safe into Port Louis on the 17th instant. Better fortune must be looked for, though I am not one of those that expect it, notwithstanding the trouble you are at to assist in it."

TO CAPTAIN BUCKLE.

"October 17, 1791.

"The Admiralty have been long ago acquainted with my opinion of cruising with foul ships to intercept clean ones, and therefore it is needless for me to repeat it to their Lordships. The season of the year is so favourable for the enemy, that it is scarcely to be believed likely that you will intercept them; but this I am certain of, that no one thing will be wanting on your part."

TO SIR THOMAS STANHOPE.

"December 1, 1761.

"The enemy shew their whole squadron in Brest Road, which consists of seven ships of the line, and three frigates. The last got down from the Basin the 25th. The Charente ships will, I conclude, be fit by this time; so matters seem near ripe for some event. If valour and knowledge are to determine, I have the most sanguine hopes; but as success depends in so many shapes upon the direction of a Supreme Power, I shall suspend my opinion, and be a

patient waiter for the moment's coming for the decision of these matters."

In the month of December a considerable portion of the troops on Belleisle were ordered to England, in order to join the expedition under General Monckton and Admiral Rodney, against Martinico. At the same time the Commodore was informed that the particular service upon which he was employed being at an end, he would not receive his instructions as heretofore, through a secretary of state, but that the Lords of the Admiralty would transmit to him such orders as were necessary for his future conduct. In making this communication, the Minister thus concludes his letter:—

"I cannot close my correspondence without assuring you, which I do with very particular satisfaction, of his Majesty's constant approbation of all your proceedings in the execution of the important command entrusted to your care. I am, &c.

"EGREMONT."

From intelligence obtained by the British ministry that Brest would, in all probability, be the port at which the French would endeavour to assemble their fleet, Commodore Keppel was ordered by the Admiralty to proceed thither, and in person direct the force destined to oppose them. Leaving a small squadron at Belleisle, he proceeded to his cruising ground.

Whatever designs the enemy might have had in contemplation, they were laid aside, and their ships continued idly to parade in the security of their own harbours.

Notwithstanding the thorough repair which the Valiant had undergone the previous year, she still continued in a very leaky condition. Although her men were kept constantly at the pumps, she made, even in the finest weather, nearly four feet water in an hour. She was now constantly exposed to tempestuous weather, and on the 12th of January, 1762, was, in consequence of a tremendous storm, compelled, with the other ships of the squadron, to seek shelter in the nearest British port. With five feet water in the hold, and almost in a sinking condition, she got into Torbay. The Mars, Burford, and Aquilon, were the only ships that accompanied her. The remainder of the squadron put into different ports, but all of them reached home in a most deplorable state.

The Commodore in announcing his arrival to the Admiralty, writes to Mr. Clevland, the secretary:—"I am sorry to have the disagreeable account to communicate to you for their Lordships' information, of my having been obliged to bear up Channel, which I did most unwillingly, though the weather, for the last three days I was at sea, was indeed so severe that nothing but the great importance of the object of my attendance could have been a reason with me for keeping the Channel. The night of the 11th, I think, was as violent a gale as I have ever experienced in Europe; and about four o'clock in the morning, the water increased to such a degree on board the Valiant, that the whole pumps employed could not get the better of it, which obliged me to bear up."

CHAPTER X.

THE SIEGE OF THE HAVANNAH.

Overtures from France—The FAMILY COMPACT—Resignation of Mr. Pitt—War with Spain—Ministers resolve to attack the Havannah—Keppel appointed second in command, with the rank of Commodore—Unnecessary delay—Departure of the expedition—Keppel captures a French West Indiaman—Expedition reinforced—Passage through the Bahama Straits—Description of the Havannah—Keppel appointed to land the army—Difficulties of the besiegers—Cordial co-operation of the sailors—The ships cannonade the Moro—Characteristic letter from Captain Hervey—The Grand Battery catches fire—Dreadful sickness in the army and navy—The "Valiant's battery"—Unsuccessful sortie of the enemy—General Keppel effects a breach—Takes the Moro Castle by storm—Capture of the Havannah—Sir George Pocock's approbation of Keppel's conduct—Rejoicings at the victory—Keppel captures a fleet of West Indiamen—Promoted to the rank of Rear-admiral—Hard case of some British sailors—Marriage of Lady Elizabeth Keppel to the Marquis of Tavistock.

1762 TO 1763.

IN consequence of overtures from France, a congress had assembled in the early part of the preceding year, to concert the most effectual means of bringing hostilities to a close. In the month of May, ambassadors were sent from the respective courts of Great Britain and France, to draw up articles of peace. For a time, the aspect of affairs promised a speedy and

amicable adjustment, but the French Court, who were not sincere in their professions of amity towards this country, cavilled at the terms of the treaty, and while negotiations were pending, entered into that secret alliance with the court of Spain, so well known as the "FAMILY COMPACT."

This treaty was signed on the 15th of August, and intelligence of its completion soon after reaching Mr. Pitt, he urged upon his colleagues the expediency of an immediate commencement of hostilities against the two contracting powers.

The suggestion was denounced by Lord Bute, as rash and unadvisable, and with the exception of Lord Temple, was opposed by all the members of the cabinet. Mr. Pitt, unable to convince or influence his colleagues, and being determined not to remain responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide, resigned office.

The result proved the soundness of Pitt's policy, in endeavouring to anticipate Spain in her hostile intentions; for in the month of January war was formally declared against that country, and his late colleagues found themselves compelled to adopt his measures, although it soon became apparent that the master mind of the late Premier was wanting to give those measures their full effect.

The plan which, in anticipation of a rupture with Spain, had been resolved upon some time before, was similar to that adopted in the former war, to direct the attack against the settlements of the Spaniards in the West Indies; the Havannah, as the centre of their colonial trade, and the key to their American

possessions, was fixed upon as the spot against which our hostile operations could be directed with the most advantage.

This town, which is in the island of Cuba, besides being the most considerable in the West Indies, whether on account of its trade, its docks, or its harbours, was also the depôt of the precious metals from Mexico, previous to their being shipped for the Old World.

The Duke of Cumberland is said to have laid the scheme for the reduction of this important place before ministers, who in return paid his Royal Highness the compliment of allowing him to nominate the principal officers to serve in the expedition.

The person selected for the chief command of the land forces, was General the Earl of Albemarle, a friend and disciple of the Duke, of whose family he had been a member ever since he was sixteen years old, and with whom he had served in all his campaigns. Lord Albemarle was assisted by Lieutenant-general La Fausillé, and by his own brother, Major-general the Hon. William Keppel.

Sir George Pocock,* Admiral of the Blue, was ap-

* Sir George Pocock entered the navy in 1718. His services were principally confined to the East Indies. In 1757, Rear-Admiral Pocock led the attack upon Chandernagore, and though he received seven wounds, would not quit the deck till after the action. Within the two following years, he three times gave chase to the French fleet. On the first occasion, some of his officers misbehaving, the flag-ship was nearly captured; on the second, the enemy escaped into Pondicherry, with a loss of 550 men; on the third, into the same roads, losing 1500 men. In 1761 Pocock was made Knight of the Bath. After the reduction of Pondicherry, Lally, the French general, and at that time a prisoner in England, desired to be introduced to Pocock, when he thus addressed him:—"Dear Sir George, as the first man in your profession, I cannot but respect and

pointed to command the fleet, and Keppel, who, immediately on his arrival in London, was dispatched to superintend the arrangements of the new expedition, was appointed, by a particular commission, second in command, with a distinguishing pendant as Commodore.

"This officer," says Mant, "had distinguished himself during the whole progress of the war. He added Goree to the British empire; but his great judgment and activity, so eminently displayed during the recent reduction of Belleisle, was assurance of success to the present enterprise, as far as success could be secured by innate bravery, long experience, and great military abilities."*

The Havannah expedition was considered of such primary importance, that every other warlike undertaking in America was to be laid aside, if it could be thereby made to contribute to the success of this armament, upon which the whole fate of the war was considered mainly to depend.

With this consciousness of the importance of the expedition, ministers seem to have been greatly deficient in those resources likely to ensure its success. Indeed, it was very evident that Pitt was no longer at the helm of affairs. Much unnecessary delay occurred in the departure of the armament from England,

esteem you, though you have been the greatest enemy I ever had. But for you, I should have triumphed in India, instead of being a captive. When we first sailed out to give you battle, I had provided a number of musicians on board the Zodiaque, intending to give the ladies a ball upon our victory; but you left me only three fiddlers alive, and treated us all so roughly, that you quite spoiled us for dancing."

* Mant's History of the War in America, p. 402.

which did not take place till the 5th of March, although it ought to have sailed a month sooner, to have arrived in the proper season at its destination. The army was to consist of sixteen thousand men, but of these only four thousand were to accompany the commander-in-chief from England. Eight thousand were to be supplied from a force which had been sent against Martinico, under General Monckton, of whom, however, nothing had been heard since he had set out with his expedition from New York. The remaining four thousand were to be furnished from America by Sir Jeffrey Amherst; two thousand of whom were to consist of provincials not then raised.

The arrangements for the naval force were in the same unprepared state. The fleet was to be as effective as it could possibly be made; yet only five ships of the line were to sail from England; the rest were to be picked up in the West Indies—the greater portion of them to be supplied by Admiral Rodney, General Monckton's coadjutor in the reduction of Martinico.

On the 6th of March, Lord Albemarle, with 4365 men, and Sir George Pocock, with five ships of the line, sailed from Spithead. Off Plymouth they were joined by the Burford and Florentine; but a few days after, the Commodore falling in with a French West Indiaman, made a prize of her, and sent her into Plymouth under convoy of a line-of-battle ship, and some injury happening to another ship, the force gained no addition of strength by this last reinforcement.

On his arrival at Barbadoes, the Admiral heard that Martinico had surrendered to the British arms. To Martinico, therefore, the fleet now steered; and

arriving on the 26th of April, General Monckton and Admiral Rodney delivered up their respective forces to Lord Albemarle and Sir George Pocock.

By this accession of strength, the army amounted to 11,351 men; and the fleet sailing on the 6th of May, was joined soon afterwards by a squadron under Captain Hervey, so that Sir George's force now consisted of the following ships :—

Ships' Names.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Namur	90	Sir George Pocock, K.B., Commander-in-chief. Captain John Harrison.
Valiant	74	The Hon. A. Keppel, Commodore. Captain Adam Duncan.
Cambridge	80	Captain W. Goosetry.
Culloden	74	J. Barker.
Temeraire	74	M. Barton.
Dragon	74	The Hon. A. Hervey.
Dublin	74	E. Gascoigne.
Marlborough	70	T. Burnet.
Temple	70	J. Legge.
Orford	66	M. Arbuthnot.
Devonshire	66	S. Marshall.
Belleisle	64	J. Knight.
Hampton Court	64	A. Innes.
Stirling Castle	64	J. Campbell.
Pembroke	60	J. Wheelock.
Rippon	60	E. Jekyll.
Nottingham	60	T. Collingwood.
Defiance	60	G. Mackenzie.
Deptford	50	D. Digges.
Hampshire	50	A. Usher.
Dover	40	C. Ogle.
Richmond	32	J. Elphinstone.
Alarm	32	J. Alms,(acting.)
Echo	28	J. Lendrick.

Ships' Names.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Trent	28	Captain J. Lindsay.
Boreas	28	S. Uvedale.
Mercury	24	S. Goodall.
Rose	20	J. Nott.
Port Mahon	20	R. Bickerton.
Fowey	20	S. Mead.
Glascow	20	R. Carteret.
Bonetta	17	L. Holmes.
Cygnet	16	The Hon. C. Napier.
Merlin	16	W. Rourk.
Barbadoes	14	J. Hawker.
Viper	14	J. Urry.
Port Royal	14	S. Douglas.
Ferret	14	P. Clark.
Lurcher	14	— Walker.
Thunder (bomb)	8	B. Haswell.
Grenada	8	— Fraser.
Basilisk	6	— Lowfield.

There were also 156 store-ships and transports.

In the course of the siege, the fleet was further increased by the following ships .—

Ships' Names.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Centaur	74	Captain T. Lempriere.
Alcide	64	T. Hankerson.
Intrepid	60	J. Hale.
Sutherland	50	M. Everitt.
Penzance	40	P. Boteler.
Enterprize	40	J. Houlton.
Lizard	28	F. Banks.
Cerberus	28	C. Webber.
Porcupine	16	H. Harmood.

Two routes presented themselves to Sir George Pocock :—the one, the ordinary and most secure, along the southern shore of Cuba, and so into the track

of the galleons; the other, the more unusual and dangerous, along the north of that island, through the old Bahama Straits, comprising a very narrow navigation of six hundred miles, through an unfrequented and almost unknown sea. But the adoption of the former course would have caused considerable delay; and as expedition was essential to the success of the enterprise, the Admiral, without pilots, and with no other guide than a chart of Lord Anson's, resolved to attempt the more speedy, though hazardous, passage through the Straits.

In order to prevent confusion, and to enable the ships to work clear of each other, the Admiral formed his fleet into seven divisions, which, on the 27th of May, bore away in the following order:—

FIRST DIVISION.

Alarm. | Namur. | Mercury.
Dragon. | | Centaur.

Admiral Sir George Pocock.
Light Infantry.
Three Battalions of Grenadiers.
Two Hospital-ships.

Nottingham. | Three Artillery-ships. | Dover.

SECOND DIVISION.

Grenada. | Valiant. | Edgar.

Commodore the Hon. Augustus Keppel.
First Brigade.
Two Hospital-ships.

Trent. | Three Artillery-ships. | Richmond.

THIRD DIVISION.

Rippon. | Bellcisle. | Orford.

Captain Joseph Knight.
Second Brigade.
One Hospital-ship.

Pembroke. | Three Artillery-ships. | Hussar.

	FOURTH DIVISION.	
Glascow.	Temeraire.	Penzance.
	Captain Barton.	
	Twenty-four Store-ships.	
Thunder.	Four Ships with Fascines.	Deptford.
	Two with Negroes.	
	Three with horses.	
Barbadoes.	Six with the baggage of General Officers.	Boreas.
	FIFTH DIVISION.	
Viper.	Culloden.	Ferret.
	Captain Barker.	
	Third Brigade.	
	One Hospital-ship.	
Cerberus.	Two with Artillery.	Bonetta.
	SIXTH DIVISION.	
Alcide.	Cambridge.	Basilisk.
	Captain Goosetry.	
Centurion.	Fourth Brigade.	Echo.
Devonshire.	One Hospital-ship.	Rose.
	Two Ships with Artillery.	
	SEVENTH DIVISION.	
Defiance.	Marlborough.	Temple.
	Captain Burnet.	
	Fifth Brigade.	
Hampton Court.	One Hospital-ship.	Portmahon.
	Three Ships with Artillery.	
Stirling Castle.	Hampshire.	Lurcher.

On the 2nd of June, "Captain Alons, in the Alarm, came up with, and engaged the Thetis, a Spanish frigate of twenty-two guns and two hundred men, and the Phœnix, store-ship, armed for war, of eighteen guns and seventy-five men; and in three quarters of an hour both struck to her."* Two other vessels were captured at the same time; but a

* Sir George Pocock's Letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

schooner escaping, reached the Havannah, and gave the Governor the first intelligence of the force that was about to attack him.

On the 5th of June the fleet made the Metances, and on the following morning appeared before the Havannah.

Charles Johnson,* in his celebrated "Chrysal, or Adventures of a Guinea," a work in which truth is blended with fiction, states that the Valiant was the first to discover the land, and that the Commodore (Keppel) went on board the flag-ship, to announce it to the Admiral (Sir George Pocock) "in a transport of joy," and eyes which "flashed fire as he spoke." He describes his activity as seeming "to exceed the abilities of a human being." "The moment he got to his own ship, he made a signal for all the Captains of his division and the General, to come on board him, and then ordering his ship's crew to be called aft, went to the barricadoes, and waving his hat over his head,—'Courage, my lads!' said he; 'the day is ours. The Admiral has given us leave to take yonder town, with all the treasure in it; so that we have nothing to do now, but make our fortune as fast as we can, for the place can never hold out against us. The purser will give every brave fellow a can of punch, to drink prosperity to Old England, and then we will go about our business with spirit. We shall all be as rich as Jews. The place is paved with gold, which the lubberly Dons

* An Irish barrister. Being afflicted with deafness, he retired from the bar, and devoted himself to literature.

have gathered for us. Old England for ever! is the word, and the day is ours.'

"This eloquent harangue had the effect that eloquence usually has; it transported the hearers out of their senses. They answered with three cheers, which made the welkin ring, and then went skipping and dancing with joy to get their punch: a foretaste of their good fortune, which many of them would not have given up for all their expectations."

"As they were going off, my master (Keppel) happened to see among the crowd the man who had first discovered the land, and calling to him, 'Here, shipmate,' said he, 'here is something the Admiral has sent you for your good look-out; and take this also from me, (giving him another,) and I hope to give you an hundred more for hoisting your colours on the top of yonder wall.'

"'Ay, noble Captain,' said the sailor, shrugging his shoulders, and making his best bow, 'and so I will, or it shall cost me a worse fall than from the main-top-gallant-mast-head, that is, when the ship takes a heel. I'll pull down proud Spain, and clap Old England in its place.'

"The spirit which my master shewed in every word and action, interested me so far in his favour, that I was pleased at his not having parted with me on this occasion."*

The harbour of the Havannah, which is spacious enough to contain a hundred sail of the line, is defended by two strong forts. The principal of these, the Moro, built upon a narrow point of land, is inac-

* Adventures of a Guinea, vol. iii. pp. 13, 14, 15.

cessible from the sea. To the east it is fortified by several works, and by a deep ditch, half of which is cut out of the solid rock. On the opposite entrance of the harbour stands Fort de la Punta; further in, on a level with the water, is a strong battery, mounting twelve guns, called the Twelve Apostles; and higher up, a work, opposite the Point Gate, called the Shepherd's Battery. Above these are the Cavannos, a chain of hills which range from the Moro to the plains of Guanamacoa.

A chain of bastions and other works defend the town to the west. The ground, in some places marshy, consists principally of bare rock, the earth having been taken away to build the ramparts of the town. The eastern coast is well wooded, and dotted over with villages and country houses.

The fleet was now formed into two divisions. The Admiral taking with him thirteen sail of the line, two frigates, some bomb-vessels and store-ships, bore away and ran down off the harbour, leaving six ships of the line under the command of Commodore Keppel, upon whom devolved the important duty of landing the army.

The next morning, (7th of June,) Sir George Pocock "embarked the marines in the boats, and made a feint of landing about four miles to the westward, while the actual descent, under the immediate direction of the Commodore, was made six miles to the eastward of the Moro, between the rivers Bocca Nao and Coximar."*

The army landed in three divisions, commanded by

* Mant's History of the War in America.

Lieutenant-general Elliot, Major-general Keppel, and Brigadier-general Howe; Lord Albemarle being in the barge of the Valiant with the Commodore.

At an appointed signal, the flat-bottomed boats, containing the troops, repaired to their respective rendezvous, under the sterns of the line-of-battle ships, whose captains conducted them to the shore. While the debarkation was going on, the enemy made a show of resistance from a breastwork which they had thrown up. Upon this, Commodore Keppel directed the Mercury and Bonetta to pour their fire into them, and they were soon after put to flight. A more considerable body of men making their appearance, he ordered Captain Hervey to run in and batter a fort, situated at the mouth of the Bocca Nao, which in the course of an hour he completely silenced, and the army landed without further molestation.

On the 10th, Lord Albemarle being desirous to attack the Cavannos, the Commodore ordered Captain Knight, of the Belleisle, to batter the castle of Chorea, and the Cerberus and some of the smaller men of war, were, at the same time, directed to keep up an incessant fire in the woods. This diversion was so successful, that the enemy abandoned the castle, and the Cavannos was carried with very little loss. On the same evening, the bomb-vessels began to throw shells into the town.

As the enemy seemed to place their chief dependence for security upon the Moro Castle, it was against this fortress that the chief attack was directed, and the task of its reduction was entrusted by the Commander-in-chief to his brother, Major-general Keppel.

From the time of the disembarkation of the troops, the men of war and transports had been kept under sail. The ground was so foul, that it was considered quite impracticable to anchor; there was, besides, imminent danger of the ships driving upon a ridge of pointed rocks, if the wind should blow from the north. But as Lord Albemarle could not have carried on his operations unless the squadron were stationary and close in to the land, the Commodore resolved, at all risks, to anchor, trusting to the seamanship of his officers, should any circumstance compel him to seek a greater offing.

The besiegers had great difficulties to contend with, in their approaches to the Moro. Batteries were to be erected, and earth was required for this operation; but the country being a bare rock, none could be obtained, except from a distance. The great additional labour thereby incurred, under a tropical sun, produced an intense thirst; but there was such a scarcity of water, that the troops were obliged to have recourse to the ships for a supply. Many of the men dropped down dead while engaged in this duty.

In all these hardships, the fleet bore an ample share. The sailors were incessantly occupied in landing cannon, ammunition, and stores, in making fascines, and in manning the batteries. Such was the spirit infused into the army by this assistance, that, in spite of all their obstacles, they were enabled, by the 1st of July, to open four great batteries upon the Moro.

With a view to slacken the fire of the Spaniards from the land side, Captain Hervey, who had volunteered this service, was directed by Commodore

Keppel to proceed in the Dragon, and to take with him the Marlborough, Cambridge, and Stirling Castle, to cannonade the Moro.

The nature of the anchorage may be gathered from the following letter :—

CAPTAIN THE HON. AUGUSTUS HERVEY* TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

"June 30th, 4 P.M.

"DEAR SIR,—I am afraid, by anchoring again, we shall be later in the morning than I intend, and shall then have to do all over again what is now done. I will keep down to-night as much as possible, that I may get in as early as I wish, which cannot be exceeded by any desires of those who want us most. Without the least strain my cable broke, and I have lost my anchor, with one-third of the cable. However, should I find myself in danger of driving up again, I shall be able to put in somewhere, and anchor.

"I am, dear Sir, &c.

"A. HERVEY."

The next morning, the 1st of July, was ushered in by a tremendous cannonade from the newly-erected batteries, while, at the same time, the ships proceeded to their stations. Captain Campbell, in the Stirling Castle, was ordered to lead; but his courage failed him. The three other ships, however, anchored close in with the shore, and laid their broadsides against

* Afterwards Earl of Bristol.

the fort. For six hours they kept up an unintermitting fire. Early in the engagement, Captain Goosetry was killed. The intelligence of this event was sent to the Commodore with the following letter:—

CAPTAIN HERVEY TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

("*With dispatch.*")

"SIR,—I have but just time to send the lieutenant of the Cambridge to you with this report, and to desire your orders about it. I am unluckily aground, but my guns bear. I cannot perceive their fire to slacken. I hope the shells from the shore will slacken them a little. I am afraid they are too high to do the execution we wished.

"I have many men out of combat now, and officers wounded; my masts and rigging much cut, and only one anchor. I shall stay here as long as I can, and wait your orders; and am, Sir,

"With great respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"A. HERVEY.

"Dragon, July 1st, 1762."

The Commodore appointed Captain Lindsay to the command of the Cambridge, who continued to fight her in the most gallant manner to the end of the action.

Owing to the great height of the fort, and the extraordinary elevation necessary in consequence, the fire was not very effective; but it was of considerable service, as diverting the Spaniards from the attack of the besiegers on the opposite side. In the heat of the

action, and when surrounded by dead and dying, Captain Hervey sent the following characteristic note to Commodore Keppel. It is unsealed, and is written in pencil upon the back of his private signals :—

"SIR,—I have the misfortune to be aground. Pray send a frigate to drop a bower off, and send the end of the cable on board here. We are luckily in a good line for our fire on the fort; but the smoke is so great that (it) makes it impossible to see the effect we have had, or (are) likely to have; nor can we tell when the army will advance. Often duller, and ever yours,

"A. HERVEY."

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Commodore, who, with his brother, Lord Albemarle, had been anxiously watching from the Valiant the effect of this desperate cannonade, finding no impression was to be made on the fort, and that a longer exposure to so heavy a fire would cause the total destruction of the ships, made the signal for them to slip their cables and return to the squadron.

In this engagement the Dragon and Cambridge alone lost, in killed and wounded, upwards of one hundred and seventy-two men; and they all received so much damage, that Commodore Keppel was obliged to send them to the Admiral to refit.

Keppel, with his usual humanity, was desirous of passing over the shameful behaviour of Captain Campbell, influenced by the same feelings as those of his friend, Lord St. Vincent, who, in after years, under similar circumstances, allowed Captain Browne to

retire from the service.* This, however, Keppel was not allowed to do.

CAPTAIN HERVEY TO COMMODORE KEPPEL.

"My dear Sir,—I have sent my sloop up for the sick people and tent.

"I am very happy to find we have given satisfaction, and that we were of such use to the General,† as Lord Albemarle's letter flatters me with. As to the Stirling Castle, I think the Admiral seems to have seen enough to be a judge how far it is right to trust *such* a ship to *such* a commander; and I would not write a complaint, as you seemed so merciful to him; but I believe his officers will represent his conduct.

"I beg my compliments to my Lord and the General (Keppel). I hope you are all well, and will be soon masters of the Moro. I shall wait on you in a day or two, to pay my respects to yourself.

"Adieu, dear Sir. Believe me to be, with great truth and sincerity,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"A. Hervey."

Captain Hervey was right in his conjecture. Captain Campbell was tried by a court-martial, and dismissed the service.

An incessant fire was kept up for the next twenty-four hours. An officer writing home, says, "Our

* When asked by Lady Northesk, "Pray, my Lord, why did you not bring Captain Browne to a court-martial?" Lord St. Vincent replied, "Madam, I thought it best to let him go home quietly."—Brenton's Life of St. Vincent, vol. i. p. 100.

† General the Hon. William Keppel.

sea folks began a new kind of fire, unknown, or, at all events, unpractised by artillery people. The greatest fire from one piece of cannon is reckoned by them from eighty to ninety times in twenty-four hours; but our people went on the sea system, firing extremely quick, and with the best direction ever seen, and in sixteen hours fired their guns one hundred and forty-five times." While these sailors were thus employed, others were occupied in making junks, blinds, and mantelets.

Our troops had nearly demolished the outworks of the enemy, when, in consequence of the extreme heat of the weather and the unremitting cannonade, the grand battery caught fire, and was almost entirely consumed. The labour of six hundred men for seventeen days was thus destroyed in a few hours.

This misfortune was felt the more sensibly, as sickness had begun to make its ravages among the besiegers. Five thousand soldiers and three thousand sailors were unfit for duty. The prevalent disease was principally occasioned by a scarcity of water. "On this occasion, says an eye-witness, "it soon caused the tongue to swell, extend itself without the lips, and become black, as in a state of mortification; then the whole frame became a prey to the most excruciating agonies, till death at length intervened, and gave the unhappy sufferer relief. In this way hundreds resigned themselves to eternity. A great number fell victims to a putrid fever. From the appearance of perfect health, three or four short hours robbed them of existence. Many there were who endured a loathsome disease for days, nay, weeks to-

gether, living in a state of putrefaction; their bodies full of vermin, and almost eaten away before the spark of life was extinguished. The carrion crows of the country kept constantly hovering over the graves, which rather hid than buried the dead, and frequently scratched away the scanty earth, leaving in every mangled corpse a spectacle of unspeakable loathsomeness and terror to those who, by being engaged in the same enterprise, were exposed to the same fate. Hundreds of carcases were seen floating on the ocean."*

The prospects of the besiegers were at this time most appalling. The army, wasted by disease, was waiting impatiently, but vainly, for the expected succours from America; the fleet, anchored in an open roadstead, off a rocky coast, had nothing to look forward to but inevitable destruction, if the hurricane season, now fast approaching, should set in before the Havannah was reduced. In this dilemma, many died of fatigue, anguish, and disappointment; and despair would have been more general, but for the energy and steadiness of the land and sea officers, who infused fresh life and activity into their men, and roused them to incredible exertions.

By the assistance of 500 sailors and 1500 negroes, who had been purchased for the occasion, new batteries were constructed. One of these, the "Valiant's battery," so named after the Commodore's ship, was erected, and manned entirely by seamen. It consisted of eight thirty-two pounders, and was worked so

* Mant's History of the War in America.

effectually that it was fired in the ratio of three to two oftener than any other work.

At length, the hopes of our troops began to revive. They had gradually destroyed the upper works of the enemy, and had silenced their guns. On the 20th of July, they succeeded in making a lodgment in the covered way. In their progress, the besiegers encountered an enormous ditch, eighty feet deep, and forty broad, cut for the most part out of the solid rock; but availing themselves of a narrow ridge that had been left to prevent the sea from beating into the ditch, they got over, though wholly uncovered, to the foot of the Moro, and soon buried themselves within its walls.

The next day, the Governor of the Havannah made a desperate struggle to avert the impending danger. Collecting a force of 1500 men, he attacked our posts in three different places, but each sortie was unsuccessful. Major-general Keppel ordered the brigades on the left to the Spanish redoubt, and those on the right to the batteries, and marched himself with the Royal Americans to the right of the English batteries, in order to pursue the fugitives, but most of them had already gained the opposite shore. Four hundred Spaniards fell in this abortive attempt.

On the 30th of July, Major-general Keppel gave the order for loading and springing the mines, which was done accordingly. A breach, so small as to be barely sufficient to allow one man to pass at a time, was considered practicable by the General and the chief engineer. The only mode of arriving at this narrow gap was, by dispatching the men in single

file, along the ridge by which the miners had previously passed. "Major-general Keppel, relying on the experience and bravery of his troops, lost not a single moment in making the assault." The order was promptly obeyed; the besiegers mounted the breach, and formed themselves with such coolness and expedition, that the Spaniards, alarmed at their boldness, fled in all directions. The Marquis de Gonzales, the second in command, was killed, in an ineffectual attempt to rally his men, and Don Lewis de Velasco, the Governor, with a gallantry worthy of Spain's most chivalrous days, exerted himself to the utmost, and rallied about 100 men about his colours. Finding that all his companions had deserted him, or were slaughtered around him, he still disdained to retire or call for quarter, and continued fighting until a chance shot inflicted a mortal wound. As he fell, he offered his sword to the conquerors, and, agreeably with his dying request, was conveyed to the Havannah, where he died two days afterwards, admired and respected by friends and foes.*

The Moro being now in possession of our troops, the services of Commodore Keppel were no longer required on that side of the town: he was accordingly ordered by Sir George Pocock to join the fleet, off the Havannah, leaving a few ships under the command of Captain Arbuthnot, to remove the sick from the hospital at Coximar, and to protect the approaches to the castle.

* In such high estimation did the King of Spain hold this officer, that his son was created Vicount Moro; and orders were given that there should always be a ship in the Spanish navy called the Velasco.

Although sickness still raged like a pestilence, both in the army and navy, the two services, as one body, applied themselves, with the greatest cheerfulness and alacrity, to the new works to be undertaken, before the city itself could be reduced. The Spaniards fought like men in despair, and determined to hold out to the last. Batteries were erected by the English from every height that could command the town. On the morning of the 10th of August, the Commander-in-Chief, anxious to prevent a further effusion of blood, sent his aid-de-camp, under a flag of truce, with the following letter to the Governor :—

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE TO DON JUAN DE PRADO.

"Head-quarters, on the Island of Cuba, August 9th, 1762.

"Sir,—My dispositions for the reduction of the Havannah are made. Motives of humanity induce me to acquaint your Excellency therewith, that you may have an opportunity of making your proposals to surrender the Havannah to his Britannic Majesty, and thereby prevent the fatal calamities which always attend the storming of a town.

"No one can be more averse to the shedding of blood than I am; to prevent it as much as in my power, I desire your Excellency to consider, that, however my disposition may incline to humanity, it may not be possible to extend its influence to the preservation of your troops in a manner they so recently experienced at the reduction of the Moro, where the same generous principle in the British troops restrained them from acts of cruelty, when the custom of war would have authorized and justified their

putting to the sword the garrison of a fortress taken by storm.

"I am master of the Cavannos and the Moro, which your Excellency, in a letter to Don Lewis de Velasco, acknowledges to be the key to the Havannah. Add to this advantage, that of possessing the port of Mariel, where the Admiral can anchor with all his fleet, should the weather induce him to quit his present station; and I have a considerable army on this side of the town, which grows stronger by daily reinforcements.

"The officer entrusted with this letter is one of my aid-de-camps. His orders are to wait your Excellency's answer.

"Should your Excellency want passports, or escorts for the ladies who are at present in the town,* I shall most readily send them to you, being very desirous to shew you, upon all occasions, how truly I am, "Your Excellency's, &c.

"ALBEMARLE."

To this letter the Governor returned for answer, that he would defend the trust committed to him to the last extremity.

* When the Spaniards received intelligence of the approach of the English, they sent the nuns into the country. One, however, said to be a very beautiful woman, found means to make her escape, and to fly to the English camp: Lord Albemarle granted her the asylum she sought, and afterwards sent her on board Admiral Pocock's ship. Something similar happened during the siege of Minorca, when two Spanish ladies escaped to the English camp, and afterward became wives to officers in the garrison. Upon the capitulation of Mahon, Marshal Richelieu demanded the ladies; but Lord Blakeney replied, that "as they were married to British officers, they were become subjects to the British Crown; therefore he could not, in justice to his own honour and the trust reposed in him, comply with that demand."

Before the flag of truce had returned, the enemy re-opened their fire. Lord Albemarle resolved that the next morning should convince the Governor, that the letter he had addressed to him was not an empty boast.

At daybreak, five-and-forty cannon and eight mortars opened their fire. Twenty of these guns, ten of them thirty-two pounders, served by sailors, were directed against the Punta, while the other batteries played upon the town. So formidable and irresistible was the fire from the seamen, that before ten o'clock they had dismounted sixteen pieces of the enemy's artillery, and completely silenced the guns from the Punta. Shortly afterwards, a great number of the enemy were seen running from it, as if they had abandoned it. Upon this the sailors brought their guns to bear on the north gate, mounting twenty pieces of cannon: such was the precision with which they fired, that it was remarked they never missed a single shot. About three o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy being everywhere driven from their guns, flags of truce were displayed from all parts of the town, and likewise from the Admiral's ship in the harbour. Soon after, a flag of truce arrived at head-quarters, with a proposal to capitulate, which was at once accepted.

After two days spent in altercation, articles were agreed upon and signed.

On the 14th of August, General Keppel's corps, the General himself being very ill at the time, occupied the Punta gate, and Brigadier Howe the Land gate; Captain Duncan, of the Valiant, at the same

time took possession of the men of war in the harbour, which consisted of the following ships :—

El Tigre	of 70 guns.	El Aquilon	of 70 guns.
L'America	60 „	El Conquestador	60 „
El Infanta	70 „	El Santo Antonio	60 „
El Soverano	70 „	El San Genaro	60 „
La Reyna	70 „		

Besides the above list, the enemy lost El Neptuno, of seventy guns; El Asia, and La Europa, both of sixty guns; all three of which were sunk at the entrance of the harbour;* La Thetis, of eighteen, and La Venganza of twenty-two guns, taken by the Alarm; El Marte, of eighteen guns, taken by the Defiance; and two ships on the stocks, the one of eighty, the other of sixty guns, both of which the gallant captain of the Valiant is said himself to have set on fire, in consequence of their possession at the time being a considerable obstacle in the way of the negotiation.

Thus was Spain deprived of nearly one-fifth of her navy,† while the English acquired wealth to the amount of three millions sterling.

Commodore Keppel's share of the prize-money alone amounted to 24,539*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* The Earl of Albemarle and Sir George Pocock each received 122,697*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*‡

Sir George Pocock was so satisfied with the manner

* The wrecks of these ships still impede the entrance of the harbour.]

† At the breaking out of the war, the Spanish navy consisted of fifty-six ships of the line, thirty-two frigates, and five bomb-vessels.

‡ Lord Albemarle and his two brothers all holding important commands at the Havannah, the rich booty they divided between them, and the immediate restoration of the town after it was taken, caused it to be said, that "the expedition was undertaken solely to put money into the Keppels' pockets."

in which Keppel discharged the trust consigned to him, that he thus mentions him in his official despatch:— "I am glad on this occasion to do justice to the distinguished merit of Commodore Keppel, who executed the service under his directions, on the Coximar side, with the greatest spirit, activity, and diligence."

Never in this, or any preceding war, had so valuable and important a conquest been achieved; but dreadful were the sufferings, and great the mortality attending it. By Lord Albemarle's official return, on his leaving the Havannah, of the casualties of the army from the 7th of June until the 8th of October, it appears, that five hundred and sixty men were killed or had died of their wounds, and four thousand seven hundred and eight had perished from sickness.

Had Mr. Pitt's advice been attended to, and the expedition sailed at the time he proposed, the Havannah would have been in our possession before the commencement of the sickly season, and this vast sacrifice of life in all probability prevented. As it was, "the survivors returned to their native country with constitutions so broken and decayed, that a sickliness and languor were entailed on the remainder of their lives."*

Intelligence of this victory reached England in September, and created general rejoicing, though by some diplomatists it was regarded as rather a hindrance to the peace, which was then in negotiation.

"All the world," writes Sir Joseph Yorke,† in a

* Hervey's Naval History.

† Sir Joseph Yorke was the third son of the Earl of Hardwicke, and one of the aid-de-camps to the Duke of Cumberland, at the battle of

letter to Mr. Mitchell,* "is struck with the noble capture of the Havannah, which fell into our hands on the Prince of Wales's birthday, as a just punishment upon the Spaniards for their unjust quarrel with us, and for the supposed difficulties they have raised in the negotiation of peace. What effect the taking of the Havannah will have, is uncertain; for the Spaniards have nothing to give us in return, and *pour leurs beaux yeux!* I think they cannot expect it. If I could send a line to Lord Albemarle, I would endeavour to regale his Prussian Majesty's nose with some most excellent snuff, though I don't doubt he will give a commission for it. Our situation at home is just the same. The heat of party for the moment, has served to warm the heads of everybody with joy for our uncommon success, in which Providence has wonderfully blessed us. The best return would be temper and unanimity, but appearances are not favourable for the 25th of November.†"

Horace Walpole, in a letter to the Hon. H. Conway, dated the 30th of September, says, "Io Havannah! Io Albemarle! I had sealed my letter, and given it to Harry, for the post, when my Lady Suffolk sent me a short note from Charles Townshend, to say "the Havannah surrendered on the 12th of

Fontenoy. He was secretary to Lord Albemarle's embassy to Paris, in 1749, and for many years British Minister at the Hague. In 1788 he was created Baron Dover, and died in 1792, when the title became extinct.

* Mr. Mitchell, the British Minister at Berlin. He was created a Knight of the Bath in 1765, and died in 1771. A valuable collection of his manuscript letters, bound up in sixty-eight volumes, are now preserved in the British Museum.

† Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 181.

August, and that we have taken twelve ships of the line in the harbour."*

Captain Hervey, who so gallantly attacked the Moro, brought home the intelligence of the victory. Walpole writes to his mother, Lady Hervey—"I hope you are free from any complaint, as I am sure you are full of joy. Nobody partakes more of your satisfaction for Mr. Hervey's safe return; and now he is safe, I trust you enjoy his glory: for this is a wicked age; you are one of those un-Lacedæmonian mothers, that are not content unless your children come off with all their limbs. A Spartan countess would not have had the confidence of my Lady Albemarle, to appear in the drawing-room without at least one of her sons being knocked on the head. However, pray, Madam, make my compliments to her; one must conform to the times, and congratulate people for being happy, if they like it."†

The city of London presented the King with an address, in which they "congratulate his Majesty upon the signal success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless his Majesty's arms, in the reduction of the Havannah and its dependencies, (most properly styled the key of the West Indies, and long deemed impregnable,) under a capitulation that does honour to the spirit and humanity of the British nation." They further express "the pleasure with which they reflect upon the value and importance of a conquest attended with the acquisition of immense riches, and an irreparable blow to the trade and naval power

* Walpole's Letters, vol. iv. p. 241. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 242.

of Spain; one that gives additional lustre to an already glorious and successful war; and which cannot but strike terror into an enemy, not only unprovoked, but insensible to the repeated instances of his Majesty's goodwill, friendship, and moderation."

The Earl of Albemarle and Sir George Pocock, on their arrival in England, were presented with the thanks of both houses of parliament for their gallant services. The city of London, and other public bodies, paid them similar compliments.

As soon as formal possession had been taken of the Havannah, Commodore Keppel, in the Valiant, with several men of war, entered the harbour, and immediately commenced refitting and preparing a squadron for sea. Sir George Pocock in the meantime prepared to return to England, and, according to his instructions, resigned the command to Commodore Keppel.

The leaky state of the Valiant appears to have again caused the Commodore much uneasiness. In his letter to the Admiralty, he says—"I must here again beg to repeat my request, especially as the Valiant's condition becomes more and more unpleasant, and unfit for this hot climate. Her leak rather increases than lessens, and the constant pumping of her has already had its bad effects among a feeble and sickly ship's company."

"I shall order the ship to be careened as soon as she gets to Jamaica, in order to attempt repairing this defect; but I have not much hopes of doing it, after the fruitless attempts made for that purpose in England, and from her being a leaky ship ever since she

was built. I imagine the complaint is such as to require more pains and labour than the officers at *home have hitherto chose to bestow* upon her, notwithstanding the report that was made of her condition. *Her situation will render her unfit for a cruiser, which I very much lament,* as I really think *her, without comparison, the finest* ship I ever was in."

On the 12th of October, the Commodore put to sea with a squadron of seven ships of the line, and several frigates, and dispatched two of the latter, and one line-of-battle ship, off Cape François, to look after the French squadron under Mons. Blenac. Instead of seeing or meeting any of the enemy's ships of the line, they fell in with three French frigates, the Etourdi, Expedition, and Volonté, with a convoy of eight or ten merchant vessels, bound to France. To these they instantly gave chase, and the Commodore himself fortunately coming up at the time, the whole were captured, with the exception of the Etourdi, and two or three small merchant vessels, whose superior sailing was more than a match for the foul ships of the British squadron. This proved a valuable prize, as the vessels were richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo.

After securing the prisoners, and detaching some frigates to cruise for the protection of the trade, Keppel proceeded with the remainder of the ships to Port Royal, where he arrived with considerable difficulty on the 3rd of November; the Valiant's leak having so increased, that it required constant labour to keep her above water.

Short as the period had been, in which the ships were passing from the Havannah to Port Royal, it had a beneficial effect upon the health of the seamen, though the Commodore remarks—"Some more will, I fear, die before the people's health is established."

In order to recruit his ships, he kept all that were effective constantly cruising. This soon stopped the progress of disease, cleared the sea of the enemy's privateers, and in a few weeks brought many valuable prizes, both French and Spanish, into Port Royal.

In the beginning of January, Keppel received two important communications: the one, that the preliminaries of peace had been signed; the other, that the King had included him in the promotion of flag officers, the list having been purposely extended to include him.

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO J. CLEVLAND, ESQ.

"Sir,—I have received your letter of the 5th of November, 1762, wherein I am greatly flattered by his Majesty's most gracious mark of favour in directing the promotion of flag officers to include me; as well as for his Majesty being pleased to think my services in the conquest of the Havannah such as merit his notice; and I am very much obliged to you, sir, for the manner in which you have expressed their Lordships' satisfaction of my conduct upon that service.

"The King's approbation of his sea and marine officers, as well as men, who were employed in the reduction of the Havannah, I shall, with the greatest

warmth and satisfaction, make known to them, as likewise their Lordships' approbation of their conduct.

"I am, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

A cessation of hostilities was now ordered, and Keppel, who had suffered considerably from the effects of the climate, and the hardships to which he had been exposed, applied to the Admiralty for permission to resign his command and return to England. The request was complied with; but so many things were recommended to his notice, that it was not until the middle of the following year that he was enabled to profit by the permission.

By the terms of the peace, the Havannah, the conquest of which had cost England ten thousand of her men, was restored to the Spaniards, and the new Governor arriving, the latter end of June, General Keppel soon after returned with the British troops to England.

On the 15th of June, the Admiral, who had been at the Havannah, parted company for Port Royal, leaving the remainder of the squadron to pursue its homeward voyage.

Among the various matters which engaged the Admiral's attention, was one of peculiar injustice and tyranny. Five British sailors had been seized by the Spaniards, upon a charge of being concerned in an illicit trade, and condemned to perpetual slavery. The Admiral made several applications to the Governor of the Havannah for their release, but not being successful, he thus writes to his own government:—"I con-

ceived, by the peace, every injury and irregularity was forgot. The Spaniards do not reason as I do upon it, and therefore, to acquit myself upon this matter, I think it indispensably my duty to his Majesty and his suffering subjects to lay it before their Lordships, more especially as these are not the only people under this hard and cruel punishment. I have at times been told, though not regularly, that the mines in New Spain are well furnished with these unlucky people. The method practised by the Spaniards in this part of the world, is to make slaves of all they find engaged in illicit trade. The supercargo, or master, who knows his destination, being punished, would not be unjust, but the poor sailor, who hires himself by the month, and knows not where he is going, surely does not incur the same penalty as the real guilty man. Besides the right the Spaniards take to seize all the men as slaves in illicit traders, where bad weather, current, or pilotage, occasion a vessel being lost upon any part of their coast, which sometimes cannot be avoided, they are, to all intents, deemed by them as illicit traders, and the seamen meet the same fate as if really so. The acquisition of Florida to Great Britain, will undoubtedly increase the navigation in these seas; but I fear there will be a great deficiency in seamen, if the Spaniards pursue the right they pretend to, in making slaves of all seamen on board illicit traders not carrying gold or silver." This representation does not appear to have met with any attention from the British Government; for in 1777, the case of these unfortunate sailors was alluded to in the House of Lords, by the

Duke of Richmond, who complained not only of their being still in a state of slavery, but that 30,000 other British subjects were likewise in bondage to the Spaniards.

In January, 1764, Admiral Keppel was relieved in his command by Sir William Barnaby, and in March set sail for England. But he had not been at sea a week, when the Valiant's leak increased so rapidly, that it was deemed unsafe to continue the voyage; and much to his disappointment, the Admiral found himself compelled to return to Port Royal, and have his ship careened. This detention was rendered the more vexatious, from the crew of the Valiant being in a very sickly condition.

On the 8th of May, she again proceeded on her voyage, and arrived in England on the 26th of June.

In the course of this year, Lady Elizabeth Keppel, sister of the Admiral, "to whose amiable character, her mild and unaffected virtues formed a lively counterpart,"* was married to Francis, Marquess of Tavistock, only son of John, fourth Duke of Bedford.†

* "Catalogue of the enamel portraits at Woburn Abbey,"—an elegant little memoir, by John, the late Duke of Bedford, second son of this lady. In the saloon at Woburn Abbey, is Reynolds' picture of Lady Tavistock mentioned by Walpole, "in the bridesmaid's habit sacrificing to Hymen."

† The death of this nobleman, which took place a few years afterwards, is thus mentioned by Walpole:—"He died in consequence of a fall from his horse as he was hunting, but not before such genuine honour, generosity, and every amiable virtue had shone through the veil of natural modesty, that no young man of quality since the Earl of Ossory, son of the Duke of Ormond, had inspired fonder hopes, attracted higher esteem, or died so universally lamented."

"Of his political career there is little to be said, as he died at the early age of twenty-seven, and had so great a dislike to the turbulent contes-

She had been one of the bridesmaids to Queen Charlotte. Walpole says—"The bridesmaids, especially Lady Caroline Russell, Lady Sarah Lennox, and Lady Elizabeth Keppel, were beautiful figures." The announcement of the intended marriage, by the same writer, is in his best gossiping style:—

"To be sure you have heard the event of this last week? Lord Tavistock has flung his handkerchief, and, except a few jealous sultanas, and some sultanas *valides*, who had marketable daughters, every body is pleased that the lot is fallen on Lady Elizabeth Keppel. The house of Bedford came to town last Friday. I supped with them that night at the Spanish ambassador's. Lady Elizabeth was not there, nor mentioned. On the contrary, by the Duchess's conversation, which turned on Lady Betty Montague, there were suspicions in her favour. The next morning Lady Elizabeth received a note from the Duchess of Marlborough, insisting on seeing her that evening. When she arrived at Marlborough House, she found nobody but the Duchess and Lord Tavistock. The Duchess cried, 'La! they have left the window open in the next room!' went to shut it, and shut the lovers in too, where they remained for three hours. The same night all the town was at the Duchess of Richmond's. Lady Albemarle was at a *tredille;* the

tions of party, that he withdrew himself almost wholly from the busy scene of politics, which so much engrossed the attention of public men of that day, and devoted himself exclusively to country pursuits and the charms of domestic retirement. He was passionately fond of the arts, was possessed of considerable taste and judgment, and had collected in Italy many works of art, both in painting and sculpture."—"Catalogue of the enamel portraits in Woburn Abbey."

Duke of Bedford came up to the table, and told her he must speak to her as soon as the pool was over. You may guess whether she knew a card more that she played. When she had finished, the Duke told her he should wait on her the next morning, to make the demand in form. She told it directly to me and my niece Waldegrave, who was in such transport for her friend, that she promised the Duke of Bedford to kiss him, and hurried home directly, to write to her sisters. The Duke asked no questions about fortune, but has since slipped a bit of paper into Lady Elizabeth's hand, telling her he hoped his son would live, but if he did not, there was something for her; it was a jointure of three thousand pounds a-year, and six hundred pounds pin money. She has behaved in the prettiest manner in the world, and would not appear at a vast assembly at Northumberland House, on Tuesday, nor at a great hay-making at Mrs. Pitt's, on Wednesday. Yesterday they all went to Woburn, and to-morrow the ceremony is to be performed."

CHAPTER XI.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Letter to the Marquess of Rockingham—Change of administration—Keppel appointed a junior Lord of the Admiralty—His remarks on the state of the navy—Death of the Duke of Cumberland—Letter from George the Third to Lord Rockingham—Lord Rockingham's answer—Keppel conveys the Queen of Denmark to Rotterdam—Resigns his post at the Admiralty—Is dismissed from the Royal Household—Attempted coalition between Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Bedford—Keppel's Letters to Lord Albemarle and the Duke of Bedford—Is made an Elder Brother of the Trinity House—Accompanies his sister, Lady Tavistock, to Lisbon—Her death—Accident which befalls himself.

1765 TO 1768.

THE return of peace brought Admiral Keppel one of the few intervals of repose which thirty years of arduous and active service had hitherto afforded him, and which had now become essential for the re-establishment of his health. The hardships he endured as midshipman in the Centurion, and the fever at the Havannah, which, while it swept the fleet under his command had not exempted himself, had undermined his constitution. For the remainder of his still active life, we shall meet with frequent mention of hours of pain, and of the symptoms of a shattered frame. Yet his leisure was that of a zealous and anxious servant

of his country; and his correspondence evinces on all occasions his lively interest in whatever related to his profession, and in the political movements of the parties who alternately directed the foreign and domestic affairs of Great Britain.

Early in the year 1765, Sir Charles Saunders was appointed to the command of a fleet, fitted out in apprehension of a rupture with France and Spain. The appointment drew from Keppel the following letter to his friend Lord Rockingham, who was in the habit of consulting him in matters relating to, as well as those unconnected with, his profession :—

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"Bath, 29th of April, 1765.

"My dear Lord,—I received the favour of your letter of the 25th, and it is the only one I have received that tallies at all with my own way of thinking, ignorant and uninformed as I am.

"Dr. Moysey told me he should write to you as yesterday. He thinks this hurry in the public world has got too strong possession of my thoughts; and this feeling has unfortunately been accompanied with a severe cold and a little fever. I am still with a tormenting pain in my neck, and between the shoulders, but it does not prevent Moysey's administering the bark and the Bath waters. My appetite is excellent, in spite of my pains.

"I cannot help owning that my spirits have been too much agitated upon the present equipment, not for the being out of it myself, but for the critical and dangerous situation they (the ministers) have drawn

my friend Sir Charles into. Surely he plunged head over heels without considering—I don't mean that the King and the public were to be deprived of his services, but his health was a good and real pretence to beg time to consider, and at no rate to have undertaken the command without naming his assistants. Instead of which, he finds himself saddled with Captain Hervey for one of his divisions. He writes me word, he had asked Lord Sandwich to have me with him, which was answered in the negative. I felt, in reading this, more hurt for Sir Charles than for myself; for, certainly, had such an offer come to me, I must have found myself unequal to a subaltern employment, having neither health nor activity equal to it. Besides this, had I been at my friend's elbow, I should have said it was making me too cheap, mentioning my name for employment to such a man. I know the public would think ill of any officer that declined improperly his services; but if petitioning for employment is expected, I must meet and prefer the censure that may belong to my pride.

"I have wrote twice to Sir Charles, wishing him health to go through his undertaking. I have avoided the question of right or wrong in my letters. He is embarked, and his spirits must be kept up. I could not help mentioning that I feared the M——s felt pleasure in separating us, but that it would not make me more humble.

"My real love for Sir Charles would influence me to give up every consideration of my own to him; and yet, as things are, I heartily wish he had not mentioned my name.

"The fleet our friend is put at the head of is, indeed, for its numbers, the most respectable I ever read of. It will be a trying matter when the time comes. If the orders attending this fleet should disgrace the appearance of it, or even be doubtful as to its acting, I tremble to think of the scrape Sir Charles will have got into. I point out nothing of this sort to him; he is likely to feel the touch of a bad business as soon as myself.

"Would you believe it? I had one of the most civil epistles from Captain Hervey, upon the very first of the equipment, telling me how much he was paying court to the public voice, in saying civil things of me to the Board of Admiralty, as the properest person to command this fleet: (not then knowing it was to be offered to Sir Charles Saunders.) I must confess the complete masterpiece of this letter puzzled me much for an answer. I don't know whether you will agree with me in the answer I at last determined upon and sent. I gave him joy on being employed upon the present occasion, and said, "For myself, I am no child or favourite of ministers, and own I am particular enough not to wish any advocate's good word with them; though I say this, I am not the less obliged to you for your good meaning;' and so I conclude I shall have no more of his formidable interest, if he understands my letter as I would have him.*

* Keppel's pride was probably wounded at being thus patronized by a junior officer, and one to whom he was politically opposed. It is difficult otherwise to account for the coolness with which he regarded Captain Hervey at this period. They lived upon the most friendly terms while serving together at the Havannah; and in 1779, when Hervey became Earl of Bristol, no one defended Keppel in the House of Lords more warmly than his old comrade.

"Having taken up too much of your time already, I ought to finish, but must write a word or two upon my health in general. By everything that I can observe, and what Moysey says to me, I think the prospect is promising for my getting well; but at present, though much has been done, I really do not think myself well enough to undertake employment. Necessity might stimulate my efforts; but after the exertion, I think the candle would go out. Moysey sends me away about the 12th or 14th of next month. I shall stop a day or two at Bagshot to refresh myself, and then make my bow to you in Grosvenor-square. My stay in London will not be long, if, at parting, Moysey continues of opinion that the salt water bathing will be proper, with gentle exercise and change of air. My complaining feet continue very stiff and crabbed; but this does not dismay the Doctor. I shall be very obedient to his orders.

"I beg my very sincere respects to Lady Rockingham; and am, ever,

"Most faithfully yours,

"A. KEPPEL."

Soon after the commencement of 1765, the King betrayed such unequivocal symptoms of mental derangement, that it became necessary, for a time, to place him under strict medical superintendence. Upon his recovery, the Regency Bill was introduced; and the King was so dissatisfied with his ministers for not adopting his own views upon the subject, that he determined to remove them, and applied to the Duke of Cumberland to assist him in forming a new administration.

A negotiation was accordingly opened with the Duke of Newcastle, and on the 10th of July a new ministry was formed, at the head of which was the Marquess of Rockingham. Mr. Dowdeswell was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Duke of Grafton and General Conway, Secretaries of State; the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal; Lord Egmont, First Lord of the Admiralty; and Admiral Keppel, one of the junior Lords of that department.

Admiral Keppel soon became actively engaged in his new office, in placing our dockyards and shipping in a state of preparation, for any exigency which the unsettled aspect of affairs in Europe might seem to render probable.

The number of ships at this time registered in the list of the navy, was about a hundred and forty sail of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels; making in the whole, three hundred thousand tons of shipping.

It was calculated, that when once these ships were placed in proper repair, it would require four thousand two hundred shipwrights (nearly one-third more than the established number) to keep them in an efficient state. By allowing the shipwrights and artificers in the several dockyards to work, during the summer months, one tide extra, a plan was adopted, by which, without any considerable increase of expense, our navy would, in the course of five years, be gradually augmented to ninety sail of the line, fit for immediate service.

The docks in the different yards were found to be in a bad condition, especially at Portsmouth; and as

considerable danger would naturally attend the nation in the event of a sudden declaration of war, while the dockyards were so much out of repair; orders were immediately issued for carrying into effect the repairs, alterations, and additional works, recommended by the Navy Board.

The following memorandum by Admiral Keppel, is among Lord Rockingham's papers:—

"*Considerations upon the present state of the Navy, December*, 1765.

"Great Britain has, at this present moment, upwards of sixty ships of the line, that might be immediately equipped, upon a sudden necessity; which ships would require upwards of 35,000 men to man them.

"Every thinking person's ideas of the naval force of this country must be governed, in some degree, by the measures taken by France and Spain, in their naval preparations, which direct me, at present, to be of opinion, that the number of ninety* ships of the line of battle, at least, should be got ready and in complete condition, stored, &c., with all prudent haste and silence, and with a further view to about twenty more to be forwarded upon a war commencing.

"The expediting the repair of the docks is of serious importance, especially that which is in hand at Portsmouth, and which must be pushed without the least neglect. Where so much money is required

* "Ninety ships of the line will require near about 50,000 men, exclusive of frigates."

for the real exigencies of the fleet, all attention should be had towards lessening the expenses, where it can be done with safety to the requisite services.

" If the Treasury could dispense with the service of the cutters employed upon the coast, there would be the saving of the repairs of them, as well as the great advantage of employing the artificers upon more material works.

" If —— could be prevailed upon to lessen the number of guard-ships four or five, the saving upon that head, with the seamen taken from the cutters, would allow of the remaining guard-ships, at Portsmouth and Plymouth to be manned within a hundred men of their sea establishment; and when put in that condition, they will be very properly called guard-ships, and be a strong force to begin with, upon the most sudden resolution. As they now are, I know not what name to give them, or of what use they are.

" The ships stationed at the different colonies may very safely be reduced."

On the 31st of October of this year, the Duke of Cumberland, while preparing to attend a private council, was suddenly seized with a shivering fit, and sinking into the arms of Lord Albemarle, almost immediately expired.* The following letters passed on the occasion :—

* " Lord Albemarle," says Mr. Playfair, " enjoyed a kind of intimacy with the Duke of Cumberland that is seldom to be contracted with a prince; and his Royal Highness, in his last will, gave the world a convincing proof that his professions of friendship to this nobleman were sincere, and that the opinion he entertained of his integrity and honour was raised upon too firm a foundation to admit of any variation."—British Family Antiquity, 4to, vol. i. p. 370.

KING GEORGE THE THIRD TO THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"Richmond Lodge, 31st, 7 P.M.

"LORD ROCKINGHAM,—I write with the approbation of Princess Amelia, to desire Lord Albemarle will take the trouble of administering, as he is so perfectly well acquainted with the state of the late Duke of Cumberland's affairs. I wish he would instantly act; and if any power is necessary to authorize him for such a function, it shall be prepared. I therefore wish you would wait on the Chancellor, previous to your seeing Lord Albemarle, and consult him on this affair.

"I have, by the Duke of Portland, appointed you here at two to-morrow, and hope then to hear what has passed on this melancholy affair.

"GEORGE R."

THE MARQUESS OF ROCKINGHAM'S ANSWER.

"SIR,—In obedience to your Majesty's orders, which I had the honour to receive this evening, I went immediately to the Lord Chancellor, and by his advice have sent to your Majesty's advocate and proctor to be with me to-morrow morning early. Lord Albemarle having dined with me, had not left me when I had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter. I therefore took the opportunity then of informing him of the gracious intention in regard to his being administrator. I should be wanting in justice to his Lordship, if I did not assure your Majesty how much he was penetrated with all your Majesty's goodness to him; and especially in all instances

where he felt any reference to his situation with his late royal master, for whose loss he was so much concerned.

"The Duke of Portland having informed me that it is your Majesty's pleasure that I should attend you to-morrow at two o'clock, I shall have the honour of paying my duty to your Majesty at the hour appointed.

"I have the honour to be, with the most respectful duty and attachment,

"Your Majesty's

"Most obedient and most faithful servant and subject,

"ROCKINGHAM."

When the key of the Duke's cabinet was presented to the King, he returned it, and desired that Lord Albemarle would examine the private papers, and destroy everything which his uncle, if living, might have desired to keep concealed.

It soon became evident, that amid the existing divisions of parties, the new administration could not long hold together. In the Duke of Cumberland it had lost a powerful coadjutor. To add to its difficulties, the discordant sentiments that pervaded the nation respecting America, extended to the Cabinet itself, and a large portion of the community was desirous of seeing Mr. Pitt again at the head of affairs.

Perceiving the inefficient state of the administration, the Duke of Grafton resigned his office as Secretary of State, on the grounds that the Ministry were too weak to carry on the government of the country with success, and that Mr. Pitt alone would

give it solidity and vigour. His resignation was followed by that of Lord Northington, who, for four successive administrations, had retained the office of Lord Chancellor. This nobleman took an opportunity of quarrelling with his colleagues, declared to the King, that they were unfit to carry on the government, and urged his Majesty to call Mr. Pitt immediately to his councils.

On the 30th of July, a new administration was formed. Mr. Pitt was created Earl of Chatham, and took the office of Lord Privy Seal; the Duke of Grafton was appointed First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Northington became President of the Council, and stipulated, that, whenever he chose to resign, he should receive a pension of 4000*l.* a-year, and that, after the demise of the Duke of Chandos, he should have secured to himself the reversion of the Hanaper for two lives, the annual salary of which amounted to about 1350*l.*

As the principles professed by the new Cabinet were precisely similar to those of Lord Rockingham, many of that nobleman's friends, who had accepted office under him, remained at their posts. Among these were the Duke of Portland, Sir Charles Saunders, and Admiral Keppel.

In the autumn of this year, the Admiral was appointed to convey to Rotterdam the Princess Caroline Matilda, sister to the King, who had lately been espoused by proxy to her cousin, Christian VII., King of Denmark.

Keppel hoisted his flag on board the Catherine yacht, commanded by Captain Alexander Hood;

and a frigate and several yachts and sloops were at the same time placed under his orders. Previously to the arrival of the Queen of Denmark, the Admiral assembled his little squadron off Harwich, where her Majesty arrived on the 3rd of October, and immediately sailed for Holland.

The story of this ill-fated princess is well known. She was at this time scarcely fifteen years of age: equally remarkable for the beauty and elegance of her person, and the vivacity of her manners; she was doomed, from motives of state policy, to be united to a man whose abandoned profligacy had nearly extinguished the faculties of his mind. "The unhappy bride, worthy of a better fate than an union with a royal idiot,"* seemed to have a presentiment of her future fate. On her departure from the British shores, she appeared pale and cheerless, and the bursting tear was seen to glisten in her eye."

Caroline Matilda lived but a few years after quitting her native land. Neglected and insulted by her husband,—ill-used and persecuted by her step-mother, the Queen Dowager,—she was at length accused of a criminal intercourse with Count Struensee, the Prime Minister, and doomed to an imprisonment from which she was released by death alone.

Whether her conduct was really criminal still remains a doubt. Struensee confessed the intrigue, though he is said to have done so only by the threats of torture. The strongest presumption in favour of her guilt, is the total silence that was observed by the Court of England upon her sentence.

* Hughes' History of England, vol. i. p. 335.

Almost immediately after Keppel's return to England, Lord Chatham, in order to gain the interest of the Duke of Bedford and his adherents, dismissed Lord Edgecumbe from the office of Treasurer of the Household, and gave the appointment to Mr. Shelley,* a near relation of the Duke.

This step was so displeasing to Admiral Keppel, and others of his friends who had accepted office under Lord Rockingham, that they threw up their appointments. The resignations took place on the 27th of November: on the 2nd of December the Admiral received the following notification from the Groom of the Stole:—

EARL OF HUNTINGDON† TO ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

"Dec. 2nd, 1766.

"SIR,—The King having commanded me, yesterday, to inform Colonel Harcourt that he was appointed a Groom of his Majesty's Bedchamber, in your room, I cannot impart this news to you without making it my request, that whatever is disagreeable in it, may be imputed to the duty of my office, and may in no wise lessen your persuasion of the real esteem and partiality with which I sincerely am,

"Sir, your most faithful servant,

"HUNTINGDON."

* "The admirable and incomparable Jack Shelley," (as Lord Temple calls him, in a letter to the Countess of Chatham,) was the father of the present Sir John Shelley.

† Lord Huntingdon resigned his office and all employment in January, 1770, "offended at being refused the Dukedom of Clarence, which he had claimed by hereditary right."—Life of Countess of Huntingdon, vol. i. p. 458.

In the course of the summer in the following year, an attempt was made at a coalition between the parties of the Duke of Bedford and the Marquis of Rockingham. Lord Albemarle and General Keppel were considered followers of the Duke, and their brother, Admiral Keppel, an adherent of Lord Rockingham.

The letters which follow, will throw some light upon the negotiations of that period:—

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"Saturday, July 4th, four o'clock, (1767.)"

"My dear Lord,—I have just learnt, and from the very best intelligence, that Lord Gower was with the Duke of Grafton, in Grosvenor-square, yesterday or Thursday, for a considerable time. I am glad we saw Lord Gower last night. What a rogue —— is! I cannot say much for Lord Gower. Press Conway to be more explicit about the Duke of Grafton, about Lord Chatham's situation, about the Earl of Bute, and about the King, and then declare on or off. Avoid nibbling and entering into a negotiation of six months, that can end in nothing but your discredit: they are such rogues, you are no match for them.

"Yours, my dear Lord,

"Very sincerely,

"Albemarle."

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"Thursday evening, 11 o'clock, July 9th, 1767.

"DEAR BROTHER,—The Marquis tells me he wrote to you this afternoon, which leaves me little to say, but to thank you for yours, and to assure you we agree very much upon the means that seem most likely to form a true and solid connexion with the Duke of Bedford and his party. Lord Rockingham is as zealous for it as I could wish him, and if he appeared backward and shy to Rigby* about Grenville,† it does not surprise me, as his Lordship had no permission from the King to treat and consult but with his own friends and the Duke of Bedford's; yet that does not shut him up from the Duke of Bedford's proposals, in which his Grace, perhaps, may include Mr. Grenville, and then the Marquis will know how far the whole may be practicable at the present juncture, and will be explicit, I hope, with the Duke of Grafton, who, by-the-bye, is gone to Newmarket.

"As to Charles Townshend,‡ he is not consulted or

* The Right Hon. Richard Rigby.

† The Right Hon. George Grenville, appointed, in 1762, first Lord of the Admiralty, and subsequently first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

‡ The Hon. Charles Townshend, second son of Viscount Townshend, was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1765, and died in 1767. He is particularly mentioned in Burke's famous speech on American taxation. The passage is too long to be given in full. "In truth," says Burke, "he was the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of every society he honoured with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country a man of more pointed and finished wit, and, where his passions were not concerned, of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. . . . He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully; he particularly excelled

conversed with, in any shape, upon the present negotiation.

"If my back does not prevent me, I will be at Woburn with the Marquis on Saturday, to pay my respects to their Graces, but shall not be able to go on with you to Buxton.

"Sir Charles Saunders and Ellison set off on Saturday, and purpose sleeping at Newport Pagnel that night.

"I hope the country air makes the politics digest pleasanter than they generally do with you in this town.

"I won't now take up more of your time, than to assure you that I am, most truly yours,

"A. KEPPEL."

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE HON. W. KEPPEL TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"Durhams, Thursday night, July 9th, 1767.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—I don't know in what condition your servant was the second night, but mine

in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite nor vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the house just between wind and water; and not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious or more exact than the preconceived opinions and temper of his hearers required. . . . He had no failings which were not owing to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate passion for fame. He worshipped that goddess wherever she appeared; but he paid his particular devotion to her in her favourite habitation—in her chosen temple—the House of Commons. . . . To please universally was the object of his life; but to tax and please, no more than to love and be wise, is not given to men. . . . He was truly the child of the House. He never thought, did, or said anything but with a view to you; he every day adapted himself to your disposition, and adjusted himself before it, as at a looking-glass."

was made such an example of, that I do not wonder at his stupidity the next morning. Thanks to the good living at Woburn, I was forced to put myself to bed for want of him; and the effect of Mrs. Jones's goodness was so strongly painted on his face yesterday, that I thought I saw an apparition of myself in poor Dick's time, when Lord Gower and Rigby would drink a bottle out of Lord Weymouth's and the Provost's company.

"I must now thank you for your good intelligence, which will bring to bear that coalition which I have long wished for, without the assistance of my *good friend* Grenville; not that I carry my dislike so far as to wish him quite out of the question—no, he should have a place, and a good one too, but no peerage, for his abilities are wanting in the House of Commons. * * * * As to Conway, he will make a better figure in our profession than as a minister; therefore let him return to the military trade, by a promise of the first regiment of Dragoons vacant; (you see I can even speak against myself, *pour la cause commune.*) What will you do with Charles (Townsend)? That's a fellow that must be satisfied, though not worth hanging.

"I flatter myself, St. James's great gates, and all the back doors of that Palace, will be thrown wide open for all that is now in it, and that a thorough purge will be made of the infidels, else I shall expect another administration in August, 1768. The Onslows, Townshends, Shelleys, &c. &c., not forgetting the little Lord Villiers, must be made examples of; and should you be distressed for a good Vice-cham-

berlain, Lord Gower can tell you who recommended himself to succeed Will Finch,* when his Lordship was Chamberlain.

"As you say nothing of yourself, I hope you are better, and that the express you received has raised your spirits, which I was sorry to find so low.

"I beg my respects to the Duke and Duchess, and compliments to Lord Gower, and Rigby, who I hope has submitted, and obtained the fair Miss Betty's† forgiveness.

"I am, most truly and sincerely,
"Your affectionate brother,
"W. KEPPEL.

"P.S.—Your servant told me he would call for my answer to-morrow, on his way back."

On the 11th of July, Admiral Keppel accompanied Lord Rockingham to Woburn, to consult on the best means of carrying the coalition into effect. A meeting for this purpose was held on the 20th of July, at Newcastle House, attended by the Dukes of Newcastle, Portland, and Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, Admiral Keppel, and Mr. Dowdeswell, of the Rockingham party; and the Duke of Bedford, Lord Sandwich, Lord Weymouth, and Mr. Rigby, of the Bedford party. A letter was read by Rigby, which

* The Hon. William Finch, second son of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, a member of parliament, and privy-councillor. In 1724, he was envoy-extraordinary to the court of Sweden, and subsequently vice-chamberlain of the household.

† Miss Elizabeth Wrottesley, daughter of the Rev. Sir Richard Wrottesley, Bart., and niece to the Duchess of Bedford.

Mr. Grenville had addressed to him, promising his support to the new administration, provided the sovereignty of this country over America was "*asserted*" and "*maintained.*" Lord Rockingham complained with warmth, that these words cast a reflection on his past conduct, and that he would make no such declaration. The Duke of Bedford, in his private journal, says, "the Marquis flew into a violent passion;" but, "about two hours afterwards, made me excuses in the outward room, in the presence of Admiral Keppel, alleging the warmth of his temper, and his resentment of Earl Temple's former behaviour to him." It was proposed to change the obnoxious words to those of "*supported*" and "*established,*" but the matter was left unsettled. A difficulty next arose respecting General Conway's holding office under the new administration. The Marquis of Rockingham considered that Conway's advice and assistance would be of great use to any administration; and the Duke of Bedford declared he would belong to no administration of which Conway formed a part.* Shortly afterwards the meeting broke up.

* Field-marshal the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, second son of the first Lord Conway, entered the army in 1740, served with distinction at Fontenoy, Laffeldt, and Culloden, and was second in command in the Rochfort expedition; he was very anxious that the place should be attacked, but was overruled. "He himself" (says Walpole) "took a cutter and twenty marines, and went to survey the coast. A battery fired on them, and one of the rowers said, 'Sir, we are in great danger.' He replied coolly, 'Pho, they can't hurt us;' and turning to young Fitzroy, he said, 'Now if they would not say I was boyish, I would land with these twenty marines, to shew them we can.'" Lord Chesterfield said, that when he was praising George Stanhope, a young man of remarkable spirit, he was answered, "Faith, my Lord, I don't pretend to be like Harry Conway, who walks up to the mouth of a cannon with as much coolness and grace, as

Keppel is said to have deprecated the manner in which the business had terminated, and to have exerted himself with the Duke of Newcastle to bring about another meeting, which was accordingly held the following night, but, like the former, ended unsatisfactorily.

Lord Albemarle, to whom Rigby sent a detailed account of these proceedings, thus writes to the Duke of Newcastle:—

"Buxton, July 23rd, 1767.

"My Lord,—Rigby's express, which I received an hour before the Marquis's, filled me with surprise and concern. I am sure your Grace and I feel alike upon this unfortunate event. How it was to be avoided, I cannot tell at this distance. Rigby lays the separation of the parties to the insisting upon Mr. Conway being the Secretary of State: the Marquis, to the unreasonable proposals of the Grenvilles. I should neither have insisted on the first, nor have given in to the last. That conduct would not, in all probability, have answered better. You might have lost Conway by it, without bringing the Grenvilles to give up their points, if they are not sincere in the

if he was going to dance a minuet." Conway moved in the House of Commons the repeal of the Stamp Act. Burke says—"I remember with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honourable gentleman (Conway) who made the motion for the repeal, in that crisis when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation waited their fate from your resolutions. When at length you declared in their favour, and, your doors thrown open, shewed them their deliverer, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and respect. They jumped upon him like children on'a long absent father. All England—all America joined in his applause."

affair. I never was without my suspicions of them; but depended upon their following the Duke of Bedford, who was most desirous, as well as all his family, of uniting with your Grace, and with the Marquis and his friends.

"I have begged the Marquis, if they have parted upon any terms, never to lose sight of his Grace. I have known more desperate cases recovered in skilful hands.

"I could not let a safe conveyance* (the Marquis's groom) go, without communicating my poor thoughts to you.

"I hope to wait upon your Grace and the Duchess of Newcastle, (to whom I beg my best respects,) with the Bedfords, at Claremont, before the summer is over.

"I am, with great truth and esteem,

"Your Grace's

"Very sincere and faithful humble servant,

"ALBEMARLE."

Keppel was at this time appointed a brother of the Trinity House: the compliment is acknowledged in the following letter:—

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

"Goodwood, August 5th, 1767.

"MY LORD,—I should sooner have returned your Grace thanks for your very obliging letter, if my being in the country had not prevented my receiving it till this afternoon. The honour your Grace does

* The letters written at this period prove that the post office was not considered "a safe conveyance" for confidential communications.

me, of thinking of me upon this occasion, is much more flattering to me than any hopes I might have entertained of succeeding Admiral Cotes as an Elder Brother of the Trinity House. I do not now recollect whether or not Sir Edward Hawke is a Brother. If he should be, I conceive he cannot possibly take offence at my accepting your Grace's kind offer.

"I beg my respects to the Duchess, and am, with the greatest truth,

"Your Grace's, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

About six weeks subsequent to the date of the following letter, it was announced from the throne that a dissolution of Parliament would shortly take place.

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

"Audley Square, Oct. 6th, 1767.

"MY LORD DUKE,—I was called yesterday to dine at the Mayor's feast at Windsor, where I found a very full hall, and, among others, Lord George Beauclerk. Towards the end of the treat, some dispute arising relative to a printed paper offered about, to introduce one Mr. Manship as a candidate at the ensuing election, brought about a declaration from Lord George, of his intention to offer himself, but not without the support of Government. I had no difficulty in making the first part of his Lordship's declaration, though I materially changed the other part, assuring the company of my determination to try the strength of my friends, though ever so disagreeable to Administration. The curtain being drawn up, in part, obliges me to begin my canvass directly; and

being told that Mr. Neville can be of some service, I take the liberty to solicit your Grace for your influence with him. I write, this post, to the Duke of Marlborough, for his Grace's support. I am at this moment a single man; and my task between Government and a Mr. Johnson, hitherto much my friend, is not a very easy one. If Government mean to have two members, I shall have but one plan to follow, and need not perplex myself. Mr. Manship, on Lord George and my declaring, has declined; yet it may happen that we shall have four candidates, if Government, as I mentioned before, intend having two.

"I flatter myself your Grace will pardon my troubling you; and allow me in this letter to present my respects to the Duchess, who I hope, with your Grace, is in perfect health.

"I am, with great respect, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Audley Square, Oct. 10th, 1767.

"MY LORD,—I am sorry your Grace should give yourself the additional trouble of answering my letters, as well as obligingly complying with the requests contained in them. Lord Albemarle, concluding you might be absent from Woburn when I wrote, to save time, wrote himself to Mr. Neville, and I found his steward as soon in the town of Windsor as I was myself, with instructions to be as useful to me as possible. I am returned to London very much fatigued with everything—the natural consequence of

canvassing a borough—though with no reason to be displeased with the success of it. I have heard nothing of Lord George Beauclerk since his first declaration, yet I have some reason to believe that the Administration will adopt him. Mr. Johnson, the most natural for a candidate, though silent upon that head, is extremely civil to me, and, I think, much inclined to afford me assistance, if I am in need of it.

"I flatter myself your Grace finds yourself better for your last journey. I beg my respects to the Duchess. I am happy Lady Tavistock and her little ones are so well. Lady Albemarle proposes being at Woburn some time to-morrow. I think your Grace will find by this time, that I have not quite got quit of the quantity of port I took at Windsor, which has left a dulness upon me that I cannot at present master, and therefore I will put an end to my letter, and assure your Grace that I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

"A. Keppel."

Admiral Keppel was returned for Windsor, and continued member for that borough until 1780.

In the autumn of 1768, we find our Admiral engaged in conveying his sister, the Marchioness of Tavistock,* to Lisbon. When we had last occasion to mention the name of this lady, it was in reference to her intended union with one of the most amiable and accomplished noblemen of his day. But a few years had passed away, and she was now a heart-broken

* Wyffen describes Lady Tavistock as one "who, to a sweetness of disposition peculiarly her own, joined all those mild and unaffected virtues which tend to perpetuate the charm first given by personal grace and innate dignity of character."

widow, rapidly sinking into the grave from grief at her irreparable loss.

The accident which caused this bereavement, occurred on the 22nd of March, 1767. The full extent of the calamity which had befallen Lady Tavistock was considerately kept from her till further concealment was impossible. Throughout the anguish that followed this sudden wrench from happiness the most unclouded, she was sustained by nature, as though in pity for the posthumous infant to which she gave birth on the 20th of August.* The settled melancholy of the widowed mother's heart appears, after the birth of the child, to have given way to keen sensibility and inconsolable sorrow. Change of air and scene was proposed, and Lisbon fixed upon as the spot most likely to restore the unhappy sufferer. The seeds, however, of an incurable disease were too deeply rooted for human skill or human means to eradicate."† Her companions on the voyage to Lisbon were her sister and brother, Lady Caroline Adair‡ and Admiral Keppel. The following affecting incident is said to have occurred previously to Lady Tavistock's departure from England :—" At a consultation of the faculty, held at Bedford House, in August, one of the physicians, whilst he felt her pulse, requested her to open her hand. Her reluctance induced him to use a degree

* This infant was the late Lord William Russell, who, by a melancholy coincidence with the untimely fate of his father, fell by the hand of a midnight assassin.

† Wyffen's Memoirs of the House of Russell.

‡ Lady Caroline Keppel married, in 1759, Robert Adair, Esq., by whom she had one son, the present Right Hon. Sir Robert Adair, G.C.B.

of gentle violence, when he perceived that she had closed it to conceal a miniature of her late husband. "Ah! Madam," he exclaimed, "all our prescriptions must be useless whilst you so fatally cherish the wasting sorrow that destroys you!" "I have kept it," she replied, "either in my bosom or my hand, ever since my dear Lord's death; and thus I must, indeed, continue to retain it, until I drop off after him into the welcome grave."

The following letter announces the arrival of the party at their destination:—

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD RIGBY.

"Lisbon, Oct. 15th, 1768.

"DEAR SIR,—If I could have sent any very flattering accounts of Lady Tavistock's health, I should most certainly have wrote direct to the Duke of Bedford, whom, I cannot doubt, would have been made happy by hearing anything favourable towards her recovery. But, indeed, I am unable to say more than that we have got her safely landed, after a blowing passage of twelve days, and what a healthy person would not call a bad one. She suffered most exceedingly, and was so bad at times, that I more than once feared she would not have seen land again. Since being on shore, she has rested but indifferently well, and remains lowered and weakened by the sea passage to a great degree. I have had Doctor Wade, the physician of the place, with Lady Tavistock; he is in great repute here, but from him I cannot gain much information. I suppose, by the sailing of the next packet-boat, I may be able to speak his thoughts. I

wish most heartily they may be favourable. Lady Caroline is well, and giving her sister her most constant attendance. She is much to be admired for the part she has taken, in giving herself up to so melancholy a task. We are indifferently lodged; but if my sister wishes a better house, I shall endeavour to procure her one—no very easy business to get such a one as a sick person ought to have. We are in an expensive country, and I conclude everybody means to cheat us of what they can.

"I beg my respects to the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, and am,

"Dear Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

About a fortnight from the date of this letter, Lady Tavistock expired.* Lady Caroline Adair, who was devotedly attached to her sister, and had watched over her with an unceasing assiduity imbibed the same fatal complaint, which shortly after terminated her life.

Admiral Keppel in the course of this melancholy passage met with a serious accident. By a sudden lurch of the ship, he fell down one of the hatchways, and thereby injured his back so severely, as ever afterwards to occasion him the greatest pain, and at times even to deprive him of the use of his legs.

* "Her beauty and merit," says Lord Orford, "deserved such a lord;" and "the inconsolable sorrow that followed the accident which deprived her of him, attested the happiness which she had derived from his love. She survived her husband but little more than a year, and then, in the words of Rogers, 'Died, the victim of exceeding love.'"—Description of Enamel Portraits at Woburn Abbey, p. 63.

CHAPTER XII.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Keppel votes against the expulsion of Wilkes—Promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue—Case of the Falkland Islands—Keppel appointed to the command of a fleet—The expedition abandoned—Death of the Earl of Albemarle—Keppel is refused a renewal of the grant of Bagshot Park—Death of Sir Charles Saunders—Keppel's remonstrance upon the appointments of Lord Howe and Sir Hugh Palliser—Letters to Lord Rockingham.

1769 TO 1776.

AT the close of the session of Parliament in May, 1769, Admiral Keppel's name appears in the list of the minority that voted against a motion for the expulsion of Wilkes, and he was one of seventy-five members who commemorated the strength of their forces on this occasion, by a dinner at the Thatched House Tavern. "The numbers," writes Lord Temple, to the Countess of Chatham, "were 221 to 152; the greatest minority, I believe, ever known the last day of a session."*

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

"London, June 27th, 1769.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I wish circumstances were such as would have enabled me, by this opportunity, to

* Chatham Correspondence.

tell you that Sir Charles* and myself were now ready to meet you at Mr. Anson's; but the complaint he has of the gout in his feet, prevents his undertaking a journey from London; and, indeed, the very bad state of my poor sister Lady Caroline, must have stopt me, if Sir Charles had been able.

"You can scarcely expect news very interesting from London at this season. I think it is as dull and empty as ever I knew it.† I hope the report of the Turks having beat the Russians is not true.‡ Our great wise folks say nothing about it. Saying nothing, and doing nothing, except what they ought not to do, seem to be their system. They don't acknowledge to know anything about your friend, poor Paoli.§ What do they know? I hear and be-

* Sir Charles Saunders.

† "London," says Walpole, in a letter of July 3, 1769, "is the abomination of desolation."—Walpole's letters, vol. v. p. 241.

‡ "The Russians were at first victorious; but, like the King of Prussia at the battle of Zormdoff, they despatched the messenger with the news too soon, for the Turks, having recovered their surprise, returned to the charge, and repulsed the Russians with great slaughter."—Note to Walpole's Letters, vol. v. p. 241.

§ Paoli, a Corsican general and patriot. Boswell, the biographer, in a letter to Lord Chatham, writes:—"To correspond with a Paoli and with a Chatham, is enough to keep a young man ever ardent in the pursuit of virtuous fame."—Chatham Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 247.

"The following is the late Emperor Napoleon's account of his distinguished countryman:—'In 1755, Pascal Paoli was appointed first magistrate and general of Corsica. He had been educated at Naples, and was a captain in the service of King Don Carlos. He was tall, young, handsome, learned, and eloquent. In 1769, a French army, commanded by Marshal de Vaux, landed in Corsica. The inhabitants fought resolutely, but were driven to the south of the island; Paoli embarked, June 16, in an English ship, at Porto Vecchio, landed at Leghorn, crossed the Continent, and repaired to London, where he was everywhere received with tokens of the greatest admiration, both by the people and their princes.'—(Mémoires, tom. iv. p. 36.")—Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 389.

lieve that Mons. Chatelet deferred his departure from hence till he could be informed how his court received his behaviour towards the Russian Ambassador; and now he goes, in full confirmation of their having approved very much.*

"Sir Joseph Mawbey† seems to have triumphed at the Surrey meeting. Lord Townshend‡ has no successor named. I should think the great don't agree enough about it, to venture yet the recalling his Lordship. If my letter is opened, wont all I write be deemed a libel, and among other things, that I believe his Grace of Grafton is to be married this day at Woburn to the happy Betty Wrottesley.

"Sir Charles Saunders begs his respects to your Lordship, with mine to Lady Rockingham. Albemarle is at Bagshot, and I have the satisfaction of saying, in very good health. I hope the next year will

* The Duc de Chatelet, the French Ambassador, had quarrelled with the Comte Czernicheff, the Russian Ambassador, on a point of precedence at a ball, at Court.

† Member for Southwark from 1761 till 1774, and afterwards for the county of Surrey from 1774 till 1790.

‡ Lord Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was succeeded by Earl Harcourt, but not until October 30, 1772. He was a very distinguished officer, and served at Dettingen, Fontenoy, Culloden, and Laffeldt; after the death of Wolfe, he became Commander-in-chief at the siege of Quebec, and was created a Marquess in 1787. Walpole tells the following story of George Townshend and Keppel's brother, Lord Albemarle:—"An extraordinary event has happened to-day: George Townshend sent a challenge to Lord Albemarle, desiring him to be with a second in the fields. Lord Albemarle took Colonel Crawford, and went to Marylebone. George Townshend bespoke Lord Buckingham, who loves a secret too well not to tell it; he communicated it to Stanley, who went to St. James's, and acquainted Mr. Caswell, the captain on guard. The latter took a hackney-coach, drove to Marylebone, and saw one pair. After waiting ten minutes, the others came. Townshend made an apology to Lord Albemarle for making him wait. 'Oh,' said he, 'men of spirit

have nothing that will prevent my assuring you in person, at Wentworth, that I am, very faithfully,

"Your sincere and obedient servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

"P. S.—I understand Lord Clive has purchased Claremont for 25,000*l.*, and two for the stock."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Audley Square, Saturday evening, Jan. 13, 1770.

"MY DEAR LORD,—Since I saw your Lordship this morning, I have been told that the Duke of Grafton, in his morning's ride, was carried on his horse—I suppose by chance—to the Chancellor's,* where he was a very long time. I do not write you this as an absolute truth, but rather believe it to be so, from the person's account of it who told me. True or false, I know not what it imports. I am, ever,

"Most faithfully yours,

"A. KEPPEL."

don't want apologies: come, let us begin what we came for.' At that instant, out steps Caswell from his coach, and begs their pardon, as his superior officers, but told them they were his prisoners. He desired Mr. Townshend and Lord Buckingham to return to their coach; he would carry back Lord Albemarle and Crawford in his. He did, and went to acquaint the King, who has commissioned some of the matrons of the army to examine the affair, and make it up. All this while, I don't know what the quarrel was; but they hated one another so much, on the Duke's account, that a slight word could easily make their aversions boil over."—Walpole's Letters, vol. iv. pp. 108, 109.

* Lord Camden. He was succeeded in his office as Lord Chancellor, on the 17th of January, 1770, by Charles Yorke, who was created Baron Morden, but died by his own hand before his patent could be made out. "His suicide is ascribed to remorse, in not observing a promise he made to his elder brother to refuse any offers of the Court."—Wade's British History, p. 481.

On the promotion of flag-officers, which took place on the 22nd of October, Keppel received his commission as Rear-Admiral of the Red, and three days afterwards, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

In the course of this year, a gross insult was offered to the British flag. A squadron of Spanish ships sailed from Buenos Ayres, and seized upon the Falkland Islands, where a few years previously (Jan. 1766) the English had formed a settlement and erected a fort. The Spaniards arrived at Port Egmont, the principal station on these islands, on the 20th of February, and desired Captain Hunt, the officer in command, to surrender the fort and evacuate the island. On his refusal, the Spanish commander gave the English notice, in the name of the King of Spain, to quit the island in six months. Captain Hunt arrived in England on the 30th of May, with intelligence of this insult, leaving Captain Farmer to watch the motions of the Spaniards. No notice was, however, taken of his communication; "not a single man was raised, not a single ship put into commission;"* even a report of the circumstance appearing in the newspapers was flatly contradicted by the Ministry. The whole transaction was kept a profound secret until the 9th of September, when advice arrived that the Spaniards were actually in possession of the Falkland Islands. Captain Farmer, overpowered by numbers, had been compelled to sign a capitulation, and was further insulted by having the rudder of his ship taken away, to prevent his sailing for England, until such time as it was considered probable that

* Lord Chatham's speech.

the Spanish galleons would have safely arrived at Cadiz.

Vengeance for the insult was loudly called for by the country. Lord Albemarle, in a letter to Lord Rockingham, observes,—"The city people say that war is unavoidable. Rochford* assures me this will blow over, and that the Dons must submit, return the island, and ask pardon: I differ greatly with him. The present Ministry will certainly avoid a row at any rate, to keep their places." They found, however, they could no longer delay preparations for commencing hostilities. Though politically adverse to Admiral Keppel, his reputation as a naval commander pointed him out as the fittest person to take charge of a fleet in anticipation of a war. Sixteen sail of the line were placed under his command, press warrants issued for manning them, and after three or four millions of money had been expended in preparations, an accommodation took place, by no means creditable to our national honour. The English were to be the first to disarm; Spain was to restore the Falkland Islands, but, as it is said, with the secret understanding that we were not to keep possession of them; and they were actually evacuated by the English in 1774.

One good resulting from this dispute was, its introducing to the navy two men, who afterwards became its brightest ornaments—Nelson and Exmouth. The former was appointed to the Raisonable, the latter to the Juno, both of which ships were to have formed part of Keppel's fleet.

* Earl of Rochford, principal Secretary of State.

Although Admiral Keppel was prevented, by ill health, from taking any active part in the discussions upon America, which at this period absorbed the attention of the political world, he strongly condemned that system of policy which caused our colonies eventually to throw off their allegiance to the mother country.

In September, 1772, he writes to Lord Rockingham:—

"My dear Lord,—I am obliged to your Lordship for sending, and hope I am right in believing myself rather better, though I made out the article of dinner very poorly.

"Since I saw you, a person told me that he did not know Lord Dartmouth's* resignation as a certainty, but he understood that his Lordship was resolved not to allow of any orders to issue from his office for bringing home for trial one of the prisoners accused of the riot in Rhode Island; that he conceives it legal for the person to take his trial in the country where the offence was committed: this is all I could learn. If the Ministry are resolved that the man shall be brought home, notwithstanding Lord Dartmouth's objections, I think something must soon happen.

"I beg my respects to Lady Rockingham, and am,

"Dear Lord Rockingham,

"Most sincerely, &c.,

"A. Keppel."

* Lord Dartmouth became Secretary of State for the Colonies, on August 14th, 1772, and held the office until Nov. 1775.

Towards the close of this year, a bill was brought into Parliament to increase the half-pay of naval captains; but much to Admiral Keppel's own regret, and that of the service generally, he was disabled by illness from attending to it in its progress through the House, as well as from giving it his support on division.* His life, indeed, at this time, appears to have been in considerable danger; for Captain Hood, afterwards Lord Bridport, in a letter to Lord Chatham on the subject of this bill, writes—"Poor Admiral Keppel is now at Bath in a very deplorable way, having lost the use of his legs; and I hear he does not find the least relief, either from bathing or drinking the waters. I am greatly concerned at the loss the service will sustain, as well as the public, by this sad event.†

After passing a winter of considerable suffering, he began in the spring to rally.

The following letters are addressed by Admiral Keppel to Lord Rockingham:—

"Bath, March 15th, 1773.

"My dear Lord,—Mr. Rogers‡ is returned, and tells me he saw your Lordship, and that your looks were very healthy, which I was vastly pleased to hear, especially as you seemed rather complaining in the last letter I received from you.

"You have some desire to have copies taken of

* "The three most eminent naval commanders, Hawke, Saunders, and Keppel, were prevented from attending on account of indisposition."—History of Lord North's Administration, p. 99.

† Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 236.

‡ Admiral Keppel's private secretary.

pictures in Audley Square, as Rogers informs me; be assured you have no wish, where I have concern, that will not be immediately complied with.

"I think the House of Commons' business and the East India Courts are full as extraordinary as they have been at any time. Sir George Colebroke* appears to have completed his career, and is now pelted at, and much disavowed by everybody My cousin, the Duke of Richmond, whom I regard most truly, has diverted himself among the mob very much. I own the newspaper information of it has at times made me laugh, which is more than I have done at what your once gentle friend Lord Dartmouth† has done, in the appointment of Sir Basil Keith to the government of Jamaica.‡ He, too, can find it convenient to look out for a Scotchman, among the few left unprovided for. His Lordship is either very acquiescing, or become more convinced of the rectitude of such choices. I don't mean to convey to you any ill impression of Captain Sir Basil Keith: he is really a good and prudent man; but I don't think, ambitious as he may be, he looked near so high as this Government.

* Member for Arundel, deputy chairman of the East India Direction, and the author of several literary works.

† Lord Dartmouth is thus alluded to in Cowper's Poem "on Truth," p. 47:—

> "We boast some rich ones whom the gospel sways,
> And one who wears a coronet, and prays;
> Like gleanings on an olive tree, they shew
> Here and there one upon the topmast bough."

‡ This appointment gave umbrage to Rodney, at that time Commander-in-chief in the West Indies, and an applicant for the office, which had become vacant by the death of Sir W. Trelawny, Bart.

"I hope Lady Rockingham remains well. I beg my respects to her Ladyship, and am,

"Most faithfully, &c.

"A. KEPPEL.

"Poor Sir Charles* has had a bad time of it."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Bath, May 5, 1773.

"MY DEAR LORD,—This letter takes its chance by the post, and informs you that my cold and painful feels have left me.

"I hope very much for the public tranquillity, and that my friend Sir Charles may make use of the time to re-establish his health, which I should think was most requisite for him.

"I will not in this letter trouble you with any further thoughts upon the measure of the sudden armament, and the as sudden abandoning, as I hope to see you in town towards the 20th. If it was the least necessary to stay longer here for my health, Lady Rockingham and your coming would be a further inducement; but the judgment I form from my own feels is, as if the waters had, for the present, done their business, however necessary they may be hereafter. I certainly have much to do, and though amazingly recovered, yet rather feeble at times upon my legs. The complaint I had last summer in my feet still continues; the waters don't seem to have any effect whatever upon them,—at least, have not had for the last two months. Moysey wishes me to bathe in

* Sir Charles Saunders.

salt water. I certainly shall follow his directions in that and everything else which he thinks may tend to complete my cure. I mean to remain but a very short time in town, and certainly shall not disturb myself more there than I should here, let what may happen. My intention is to leave this the 12th or 13th, and stop at Bagshot for three or four days.

"You have been frequently at Newmarket, I hope not without success, and that this last trip has not been discouraging to you. I wish health and success to Mr. George Fitzwilliam. Boyd, I am sure, will be very careful of him. The garrison life will require the attention of superiors over young folks in it. My respects to Lady Rockingham, and I am,

"My dear Lord,

"With the truest attachment,

"Your most sincere, &c.

"A. KEPPEL."

On the 13th of the preceding October, Admiral Keppel's brother, George, third Earl of Albemarle, to whom he was sincerely attached, expired, leaving an only son, but five months old, the present Earl. Lord Albemarle was a Privy Councillor, a Lieutenant-general in the army, Colonel of a regiment of Dragoons, Governor of the Island of Jersey, and a Knight of the Garter. By his death the Admiral became possessed of Bagshot, a grant of which had been given to the three brothers,—Lord Albemarle, Admiral Keppel, and General William Keppel,—for their respective lives.

Keppel does not appear to have resided much at

his new residence. Being desirous of making it over to the Duke of Cumberland, he solicited the King, through the Earl of Rochford, Groom of the Stole, for permission to purchase a renewal of the grant. This request was refused, and the next year, on renewing his application, he received the following answer:—

THE EARL OF ROCHFORD TO ADMIRAL KEPPEL

"St. James's, 10th March, 1775.

"SIR,—I feel myself much honoured and flattered with the confidence you are pleased to place in me, and I should be exceedingly happy, was it in my power in any shape to promote your wishes. I laid your request, last year, before the King; but I found his Majesty very averse to extending the grant of Bagshot Park, either by purchase or donation; and I should not deal fairly by you, which I am sure I mean to do, if I did not tell you, that I much fear any further application would not be attended with success.

"Allow me to add that I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of the perfect regard with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"ROCHFORD."

It is said that George the Third broke out into a paroxysm of laughter, at having thus defeated Admiral Keppel's kind intentions towards the Duke of Cumberland. This manifestation of his feelings was one of the early symptoms of the mental disorder with which the King was so severely afflicted about this time.

On the 7th of December, Admiral Keppel sustained a heavy loss in the death of his friend Admiral Sir Charles Saunders. Ever since they served together in Anson's expedition, they had lived on terms of the strictest and most intimate friendship. As a token of the sentiments which Sir Charles entertained for Keppel, he bequeathed him a legacy of 5000*l.*, with an annuity of 1200*l.* a-year, and also included him first in the entail of all his property, in case either of his nieces, then unmarried, should die without issue.

Upon the same day that Sir Charles died, Mr. Hartley thus mentioned him in the House of Commons:—"I confess that I received no slight additional shock, when I heard that this day was marked by one of the greatest losses that this country can sustain, in the death of a great naval commander, who has carried the empire of the British flag to the highest point of glory; a name well known to America, not only on our common element the ocean, but as an earnest and zealous friend to the constitutional and civil rights of America. Though an individual may feel the loss of a private friend in him, yet that is buried in the public loss. He was every man's friend. He was a friend to his country. And only for himself may his death be thought happy, in this at least, that he has not outlived the glories of his country, which was the anxiety of his latest hours; neither will his memory outlive its just and constant tribute of veneration and gratitude from every part of our dominions."

Walpole says, he "was a pattern of most steady bravery, united with the most unaffected modesty.

No man said less, or deserved more. Simplicity in his manners, generosity, and good-nature, adorned his genuine love of his country."*

At the time of his death, Sir Charles Saunders was an Admiral of the Blue, a Knight of the Bath, and Lieutenant-general of Marines. This latter office was bestowed by Lord Sandwich upon Sir Hugh Palliser, at that time one of the junior Admirals. Another instance of favouritism in bestowing honours being in contemplation at the same time, Admiral Keppel wrote the following letters :—

ADMIRAL KEPPEL TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

"Bagshot Park, Dec. 17th, 1775.

"My dear Lord,—I have, after some combat in my mind, from a friendship to Lord Howe, which made me hesitate upon sending the letter I had wrote to Lord Sandwich, at last despatched my remonstrance to the first Lord of the Admiralty. You shall know the result as soon as I do. You have enclosed a copy of the letter.

"Believe me most sincerely, your faithful and humble servant,

"A. Keppel."

Copy of a letter from Admiral Keppel to the Earl of Sandwich :—

"Bagshot Park, Dec. 17th, 1775.

"My Lord,—It is much credited that Admiral Forbes is to retire from the post of General of Ma-

* Walpole's Memoirs of George II., vol. ii. p. 394.

rines, and that Rear-Admiral Lord Howe is appointed his successor.

"I am not used to feel disgrace or affronts; but indeed, my Lord, I must feel cold to my own honour, and the rank in which I stand in his Majesty's service, if I remain silent, and see one of the youngest rear-admirals of the fleet promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-general of Marines, and, a few days afterwards, another rear-admiral made General of Marines. It is not for me to say who should, or should not, be appointed to those honours; but I may presume to say to your Lordship, and through you, as the head of the sea department, beg leave to have it laid before his Majesty with my humblest submission to him, that, little as I am entitled to claim merit, yet a series of long service may, I hope, permit me to observe, that such a repetition of promotion to the junior admirals of the fleet cannot but dispirit every senior officer, jealous of his own honour, inasmuch as it tends to manifest to the whole profession the low esteem he stands in, which, allow me to say, may at one time or other have its bad effects. Juniors cannot complain, nor are they dishonoured, when their seniors are promoted. My Lord, I must hope I stand excused for writing in such plain terms; but when I am writing or speaking from facts and feelings of honour, I cannot allow myself to express those sentiments in a doubtful manner.

"I have the honour to be your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

Sandwich's answer to this letter has not been preserved among Keppel's papers. In the following letters to Lord Rockingham, the same subject is, amongst others of a political nature, again referred to :—

"I thank you, my dear Lord, for your obliging letter, which you sent by express. Captain Leveson's* letter explains to me everything that resulted from his embassy to Lord Sandwich with my letter. I think his Lordship's observations were curious; but my remonstrance getting to him so unexpectedly, and delivered by an officer of reputation, seems to have caught him without giving him time for a trick. He will consult Lord North, but cannot avoid laying my letter before the King. What will follow, I don't guess.

"The news from America I think your Lordship has followed up most properly, though I despair of anything from you or your friends, or any other event from America, ever shaking the wicked and cruel plan adopted by the cabal. I need not say how much it is to be wished that you could prevail upon the Duke of Manchester to remain a little while longer in town with you—at least, induce him to stay while there is the least opening of shewing the ministers you will not allow them to proceed in this bill, without your reminding them, again and again, of its fatal consequences. I think Lord Shelburne, not for you, but his own schemes, will stay a few days longer in

* The Hon. John Leveson Gower, son of Earl Gower.

town. I should not believe, after the success of the Americans, that this government will be imprudent enough to hang any they have taken, whilst the Americans have such a power of retaliation.

"I have wrote to Mr. More. Nothing is left relative to his setting off, but your being of opinion that he should or should not—I am decided, and he is decided; and it is now with your Lordship. I hope great care will be taken to avoid ground for a petition in case of our friend's succeeding. Remember the writ; and be so good as to ask Mr. More concerning the voter whose ship is in Stanley Creek, and about the two lieutenants expected from the Mediterranean. Lord Mulgrave, if he goes to Hedon, completes, I think, the change he has made. He is active, and, therefore, an unpleasant opponent; but his having once changed sides, I think, cannot recommend him but to those who are ready themselves to turn upon every occasion.

"I cannot close my letter without saying one word about myself. The weather is very severe; notwithstanding which, I was out in the air nearly four hours yesterday, sometimes on horseback, but more on foot, with a gun in my hand, without feeling any additiona inconvenience, either from weather or exercise. I have rested well both nights since being here, and spasms, though troublesome, not so much as usual. I hope and believe Dr. Scott's medicine will be of service to me; a few days more will either confirm that opinion, or bring me back to my pains.

"I propose leaving this for Bath to-morrow morning at twelve o'clock; shall dine and sleep at Overton

Thursday night; shall do the like at the Devizes, and get to Bath by Friday noon.

"My respects attend the Marchioness, and I am ever most sincerely,

"Your Lordship's

"Faithful, humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL.

"Bagshot Park, Tuesday morning, half-past 11 o'clock."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Bath, Jan. 5th, 1776.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I have received your Lordship's last letter, of the 1st of January. I most sincerely wish Lady Rockingham and yourself a happy new year, and much health to enjoy it.

"I am impatient for your letter with the news of Mr. Watson's being returned for Hedon;* for, though I cannot doubt of his success, yet I most sincerely wish it over. We had a great deal of American news whilst I was at Bowood, some that corresponds with what I had myself received: Boston in a disagreeable situation—Quebec far from being in that secure state which Government would have the public to believe. To me, its safety seems to depend upon the Americans being able, or not, to press the garrison in its present unpleasant condition. If vigorously attacked, nothing but great ability, much fidelity, and unanimity, can promise the garrison hopes. On the contrary, should the Americans prove slack in their operations, with a degree of ignorance from inexperience, and every exertion within the walls carried to

* Vacant by the death of Sir Charles Saunders.

their wishes, it will be a miracle, and an early relief may save Quebec.

"I passed three days at Bowood very pleasantly, and should have stayed a day or two longer, but many foreigners were expected whose company I had no inclination to be in. Lord Shelburne's civility to me you will easily imagine. With a great deal of apparent openness in his conversation, he certainly had some reserve; but I say this, more from my opinion that he had, than from any appearance in conversing. He did not complain; but lamented that no sound system was adopted, that would bring good about. The names of most of our friends he held in the highest degree of honour, and said, that when he went first to town this winter, he went with hopes to have found that adopted by our friends which he could have acted soundly and completely in; but that it ended in what we saw—many Lords, and many Commoners giving over their attendance in Parliament. I never pushed his Lordship, to know what it was my friends were to do, or what could be done by them. I said it could hardly be hoped that Lord Chatham would ever be able to come forth again, and that if even he did, the practice of his coming to the House of Lords with his propositions, without previous communication, rendered it very difficult for my friends to do what they would by a more confidential treatment.

"I don't think Lord Shelburne expressed much expectation of Lord Chatham ever again being able to go into great business; but he seemed to have such a high opinion of him, that attention was due to

opinions, so far as they were known; but told me, in very explicit terms, that he was a single person—that he meant to say no more in Parliament, seeing no probability of being of service in the present disunited opposition—repeated the honour he held the Rockingham party in, but that we did not speak out, and asked me if he had not spoken frankly and openly to me; then again said that he had done with meddling—that he should, having the highest respect for your Lordship, call upon you when he returned to town; he did not mean to say one word of all that he had said to me, having talked to me as a friendly visitor, who had made him happy by having come to Bowood.

"Your Lordship will judge, after all he said to me, which I fear I have now incorrectly conveyed to you, whether Lord Shelburne will open to you, when he sees your Lordship, or whether he will conclude I have communicated some of his thoughts to you, so as to expect you should talk out to him. For my own opinion, I don't know what ought to be done; but sure I am, that opposition is weak for want of union: in this, all agree, without knowing how to cement it.

"Lord Shelburne talked over the marine promotion, and what the public understood was further intended for Lord Howe. His apparent open behaviour prompted me to be open with him as far as regarded myself, and I shewed him what I had done, and Lord Sandwich's letter to me. He asked me what I thought would be the consequence. I said, very likely, what was in agitation for Lord Howe might drop; Sir

Hugh Palliser's promotion was out of reach; and so the whole would end. He expressed the greatest readiness to take any part my friends should think advisable in my support and claims — that Lord Howe was certainly a very respectable officer; but then he must, notwithstanding that, follow me, and not go before me. I thanked his Lordship very heartily—was satisfied I had stood forth for my profession and the senior Admirals, and that I had asked nothing for myself, and believed the best way was to let the whole drop, especially as I did not see what could be done, even if the Ministers were determined to bring Lord Howe to the Generalship of Marines. When I left Bowood, he entreated me to let him know if anything further passed upon this business. If Lord Sandwich writes no more to me, I am sure I shall not to his Lordship upon this matter, being rather tired of it.

"I met at Bowood, Colonel Barré, and after my getting there came Lord Tankerville, Lord Cholmondeley, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Popham. Poor Sir Charles Sedley is here, and very bad with his old complaint. My respects attend Lady Rockingham. I hope Wimbledon has been of service in relieving you from the constant hurry of business that I left you in. Dr. Moysey always asks after you; he begs his respects.

"I am ever most faithfully,

"Your sincere, humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Bath, January 20th, 1776.

"My dear Lord,—I hope the very severe weather of many days past, has not disagreed with the Marchioness or yourself. It has confined me much within doors, and a great deal crippled me in the joints of my limbs, though I have less of the shooting spasms than I expected.

"The Bishop of Exeter* means to leave this place to-day or to-morrow, though as yet we have no intelligence that the road is passable for carriages to London. The Bishop stops at Windsor; should your Lordship wish him in town, your commands will find him there.

"Poor Sir Charles Sedley has been extremely bad; he is much better to-day; the moment he is in the least so, he gets spirits. Bath abounds so plentifully with false packets, that a westerly wind is much wished for, to bring home some truth from the American shore. I see no prospect of this country's being

* The Hon. and Rev. Dr. Frederick Keppel. He was consecrated Bishop of Exeter in 1762, and subsequently became Dean of Windsor, and Registrar of the Order of the Garter. He married a daughter of Sir Edward Walpole. Horace, the uncle of the lady, thus alludes to her and her sister Maria, afterwards the Duchess of Gloucester:—"We are very happy with the match. The bride is very agreeable, and sensible, and good; not so handsome as her sister, but further from ugliness than beauty. It is the second (Maria) who is beauty itself! Her face, bloom, eyes, hair, teeth, and person, are all perfect. You may imagine how charming she is, when her only fault, if one must find one, is, that her face is rather too round. She has a great deal of wit and vivacity, with perfect modesty." (Walpole's Letters, vol. iii. p. 390.) The Bishop died Dec. 12th, 1777, leaving an only son, the father of the present Mr. Frederick Keppel, of Lexham, Norfolk.

saved from ruin. The ablest and honestest men would meet with many insurmountable difficulties, were the task put in their hands. In short, I cannot but think the country's situation deplorable.

" I beg my respects to Lady Rockingham, and am ever, my dear Lord,

" Your faithful and sincere humble servant,

" A. KEPPEL."

Keppel's health being still in a precarious state, he was advised by his medical attendant to visit Germany, and try the effect of the waters at Spa. Shortly after his return to England he writes to Lord Rockingham :—

" Elden, Sept. 14, 1776.

" MY DEAR LORD,—I am got into Suffolk, after my trip to Spa, and have so little to say on the no-service it as yet appears to have done me, that I should not have troubled you with a letter, if I had not been anxious to be informed how you and Lady Rockingham are in health.

" I drank the waters at Spa between six and seven weeks, and I think, except the first week, my whole time was a series of torments beyond what I experienced before leaving London. After leaving Spa, I, by degrees, got to the usual degree of pain, and here I am, now seventeen days from Spa, and just as I was seventeen days before I went there. I was at the King's levee last Wednesday—received most graciously ; the town very empty and barren of news. The few people I saw, seem inclined to censure the attack on Sullivan's Island, and the Government people don't appear to support Sir Peter Parker. Admiral

Graves* is ruined for doing nothing; Sir Peter is not supported for doing what he judged right to undertake; and General Clinton is left in the dark, when it is told, his letter would shew him in a clear light, and very favourably. In short, the business is a melancholy affair; and I for one, without censuring any person, must think that some misunderstanding or miscomprehension, made the business of that day as bad as it was.† At the time I say this, I don't believe any co-operation could have brought it to a successful issue. My friend Sir Peter has behaved most bravely, but persevered too long. I cannot allow him to be run down in his absence.

"If your Lordship proposes being at Newmarket in October, I beg you will be so good as to let me know, that I may contrive to see you there; if not, I suppose we shall meet as usual, a couple of days before Parliament does. I do most sincerely wish some solid junction could be brought about. The situation of this once most flourishing country, and now most deplorable one, requires it. We all think so, and yet have been battling in the way that has never promised the least success for many years together. I think the day is now come that makes it absolutely necessary to try, and ardently, what the whole force of opposition joined warmly and honestly, can do. I know what I wish is not so easy; it has at various times met insurmountable rubs, but, at

* Commander-in-chief on the American station.

† Keppel here alludes to the unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's Island, on the 28th of June, 1775, by Commodore Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton.

this time, everybody should be employed to remove obstacles, and get together, and not to fish for difficulties. I know you are never angry with me for speaking my mind, I will therefore not trouble your Lordship with excuses about it. You can have no doubt that I am most sincerely devoted to you, and am, and ever shall be, my dear Lord,

" Your most true and faithful humble servant,

" A. KEPPEL.

" My best respects attend the Marchioness."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

" Elden Hall, October 9th, 1776.

" MY DEAR LORD,—Your letter I received time enough to prevent my going to Newmarket to meet your Lordship. Nothing new has reached me worth communicating since my being here. What may be expected from New York, I fear must be such as to give no real satisfaction to any person that deserves to be called honest. I mean to set off for London the middle of next week. You will probably find me there; if not, I shall not be further off than Bagshot, and will join you as soon as you are pleased to call me. My respects attend the Marchioness.

" I am ever, my dear Lord,

" Your very faithful and sincere humble servant,

" A. KEPPEL."

APPENDIX.

A.

(*Referred to in p.* 8.)

THE following document was obligingly furnished by the Duke of Bedford:—

"Hague, 1736.

"The houses that are most open to company, and where the most distinguished persons of both sexes at this place are to be seen, are those of my Lady Albemarle, M. de Keppel, and the Count de Welderen. My lady is Dowager to the Earl of Albemarle, General of the Dutch Infantry, Colonel of the Swiss, Governor of Tournay, and Knight of the Order of the Garter; he was of the Keppel family, which has for a long time been distinguished in these provinces; he had been page to the Prince of Orange, who, when he came to be King of Great Britain, created him a peer of England, with the title of an earl. He heaped wealth and honours upon him, and it may be said, that my Lord Albemarle, and my Lord Portland, were two noblemen for whom William III. always professed the highest esteem. My Lord Albemarle maintained himself in favour by his assiduity, his complacency, by a fund of real merit, and by his care not to ask anything, but to leave everything to the King's voluntary grace and favour. This nobleman has left a son, who has a regiment in England. The lady, his dowager, is the sister of Messieurs Vander Duin, nobles of this province. She lives in a very decent manner, and is always considered as the first lady of the Hague. M. de Keppel, the brother of the late Earl of Albemarle, is a lieutenant-general in the service of the state, and colonel of a regiment of horse. He was for some time envoy extraordinary from their high mightinesses to the court of Prussia. He lives very grand

at the Hague; his behaviour is extremely noble, and his family will always bear a good character in all the countries in the world. Madame de Keppel, heretofore Welderen, does the honours of it with all the care possible, and she is extremely honoured and esteemed. Her son, the Count de Welderen, Deputy of the Province of Guelderend to the States General, is not inferior to her in politeness. He was very young when he was admitted a member of the State in the room of his father, and was soon after appointed ambassador to England, in order to congratulate their Britannic Majesties on their accession to the throne. His expense in England was very splendid; but the English did not so much mind the young Ambassador's magnificence as his prudent conduct. He brought back with him the applause of their Majesties and the court of England, the esteem of honest men, and the affection of the citizens of London. At his return to the Hague, the Count de Welderen resumed his seat in the Assembly of the States General. He lives still in a grand manner, and his house is one of the gayest in the country. He has a younger brother, a member of the Council of State—they call him the Waldgrave, who is a young gentleman of great merit. M. de Keppel married the widow of the late Count de Welderen, one of the greatest men of this Republic, who left three sons and five daughters, that are the ornament of the nobility of Guelderland, and the darlings of the Hague, where foreigners have an easy and agreeable access to this lady's house. M. de Keppel, one of the finest gentlemen of his time, and one of the bravest officers of the State, died in 1733, leaving only one son, who is an officer of the Horse Guards."

A.

(*Referred to in p.* 15.)

"Moore's Navigation" was for many years in general use, both in the navy and merchant service, and is even now a book of authority in merchant vessels. It was dedicated "To the Honourable Augustus Keppel," in the following terms:—

"Sir,—The great importance of navigation, and the encouragement given for determining the longitude at sea, have engaged the attention of mankind for many years; though artists have not

arrived at the summit of their wishes, yet their inventions, observations, and improvements, have brought navigation to a degree of perfection unknown to former ages.

"An attempt to comprise in a small compass the essentials of every useful discovery and improvement hitherto made, and to render them easy and practicable, will, I hope, merit your approbation.

"The favourable reception my former attempts have met with, encouraged me to publish this new and much improved edition of my work, under the patronage of a commander so well acquainted with every part of nautical knowledge, and who has so signally distinguished himself in the defence of his country; while his beneficent and generous disposition render him dear to every seaman.

"That you may long continue to be an ornament and a defence to this nation, is a hope sincerely entertained by

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"JOHN HAMILTON MOORE."

D.

(*Referred to in p.* 186.)

IN the Journal is the following list of presents distributed by Commodore Keppel at the conclusion of the Treaty with Algiers:—

DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRESENTS AT ALGIERS.

To the Dey—

A musical clock.
Gold repeating watch and case.
Diamond ring.
Scarlet cloth . . . . Peek scarlet 32
Blue . . . . . „ 16
Green . . . . . „ 16

Cede Alli, Hasnagee, or Treasurer—

A plain clock.
Wrought silver snuff-box.
Gold etui case, A.K.
Short spy-glass, tipped with silver.
Cloth . . . . . Peek scarlet 32
Ten loaves of sugar.

Hassan, Hasnarder, or Chamberlain—
A reflecting telescope.
Short spy-glass, tipped with silver.
Silver etui case.
Ten loaves of sugar.
Cloth . . . . . Peek scarlet 16
Ditto . . . . . Blue 8
Ditto . . . . . Green 8
A silver watch.

Hadge Mustapha, First Cook—
A chased gold watch.
A silver etui case.
Ten loaves of sugar,
Cloth . . . . . Peek scarlet 32

Hadge Mahomet, Second Cook—
A silver watch.
Ditto snuff-box.
Short spy-glass, tipped with silver.
Cloth . . . . . Peek scarlet 32

Ali Aga, or Chief of the Janizaries—
A pair of double-barrelled pistols.
Short spy-glass.
Silver etui case.
Cloth . . . . . Peek scarlet 32
A silver watch.

Hassan Hogie, Scriven of the Horse—
A silver watch.
Ditto snuff-box.
Cloth 32
Long spy-glass.

Hadge Mahomet Ukill Hadge, or Commander of the Navy—
A silver snuff-box.
Short spy-glass, tipped with silver.
Pair of pistols, silver-mounted, A.K.
Cloth . . . . . Peek scarlet 16
Ditto . . . . . Blue 8
Ditto . . . . . Green 8
Silver watch.

First Scrivan, or Secretary—

Cloth . . . . Scarlet, 8; Green, 8

Second ditto—

Cloth . . . . „ 8; „ 8

Third ditto—

Cloth . . . . „ 8; „ 8

Fourth ditto—

Cloth . . . . „ 8; „ 8

Hadge Mahomet, Betell Melqe, or Acting Officer for Dead Men's Effects which revert to the Government—

A silver snuff-box.
Short spy-glass, (tipped with silver.)
Cloth . . . . . Peek scarlet, 24
A silver watch.

Bekir Hogia, the Dey's nephew—

Cloth . . . . Scarlet, 4; Green, 4
Short spy-glass, (tipped with silver.)

Mustapha Rice, Guardian Bashee, or Master of Attendance, and has charge of the Slaves—

Cloth . . . . Scarlet, 4; Green, 4
Short spy-glass.

Hassine, Bulga Bushee, Marine Storekeeper—

Short spy-glass.
Cloth . . . . . Blue, 4; Green 4

Ukill Hadge of the Magazines—

Cloth . . . . . Green, 4

English Druggerman—

Cloth . . . . . Green, 8
Long spy-glass.
Silver watch, A.K.

Here follows a long list of inferior officers, to whom different portions of cloth were distributed. The whole concludes with—

Scrivan of the Balgick, or Auctioneer of the Prizes—
Cloth . . Peeks scarlet, 4; Peeks green, 4
The Look-out Man—
Cloth . . „ 2.

E.

(*Referred to in p.* 188.)

THE first of the two following Letters relates to the State of Tripoli; the second, to that of Tunis:—

LETTER I.

COMMODORE KEPPEL TO JOHN CLEVLAND, ESQ.

"Centurion, off Tripoli, at Sea, September 11th, 1751.

"SIR,—The Feast of Ramadam, which had interrupted my proceeding on his Majesty's commands, were scarcely ended, when the illness of the Bashaw, and some other difficulties, arose, which had nearly overset the good intent I was sent upon.

"Upon examining the books and papers which Mr. Consul White produced, I could not find any complete body of the Treaties. Of what there was, some part was wrote in English, some in Turkish, and some in Italian; and of the greater part, there was only one copy.

"As to the Government here, they declared they had but one treaty now remaining in their hands, and that was made in the year 1716.

"This treaty contained but nineteen articles, which were wrote in the Turkish language only.

"In reading over our treaty of 1675, it appeared that the nineteenth article contained such strong acknowledgments of injuries committed, with submissions, promises of better behaviour, and indemnity for the future, on the part of Tripoli, as were of too ungrateful and humiliating a nature for her, willingly, to see

revived; and it occurred to me, that this might be the reason why they did not care to acknowledge having any earlier treaty than that of 1716, wherein it was not particularly inserted, or indeed in any other, or subsequent one, that has fallen under my observation.

"The last-mentioned treaty, in other respects, appears to contain the greatest part of the substance of that concluded by Sir John Narborough, in the year 1675, who at that time commanded a strong fleet, of which the Tripolitans were very sensible.

"Although the Government here was in no way averse to renew or continue peace and friendship in general terms, yet, as there were evident differences between our and their treaty of the same date of 1716, there seemed to require something more than a bare renewal.

"Accordingly, it was proposed, on our parts, to collect and form into a treaty (to be reciprocally executed both in Turkish and English) what could be found remaining of all former ones; to which I was for adding what was equal and right in the treaties with the other Barbary States, together with the articles for the packets and passes; whether from some jealousy of my wanting too much, or their attachment to what they called old custom—which in vain I endeavoured to shew them the impropriety of, in this place—I found it necessary to waive the form which was at first proposed, and to keep closer to what they called their treaty of 1716. However, I hope it will be thought, that the variations and additions thereto are proper, as I believe, from what lights I could furnish myself with, nothing material is omitted in the present treaty of what was contained in former ones, unless the nineteenth article of the treaty of 1675 be reckoned such, which has been left out in the several renewals and subsequent treaties, and, as I conjecture, for the reasons before assigned.

"As the Bashaw observed that the present treaty was full and clear, done at our desire, and not at his seeking, he said he could not see the use of a particular article for the renewal of all former treaties, and would not by any means or arguments, be convinced of its reasonableness, or be brought to consent to it, so that we were obliged to let that matter stand open.

"There arose a considerable difficulty in setting them to rights with regard to his Majesty's titles, which had not been properly wrote in their Turkish treaty of 1716, and they insisted much on their ignorance of any other or better rule than what they found to be laid down by that treaty.

"The truth I discovered to be this:—his Majesty's title to France puzzled them; fearing that Court would take amiss, and resent their giving it. I was obliged, therefore, to signify, that unless it was complied with, it would lay me under a necessity of departing. This produced the desired effect; when rather, as the Bashaw said, than be wanting in giving particular proofs of his affection to his Majesty, he would agree to give the title; and in a very particular manner desired it might be represented to his Majesty, how much he honoured and esteemed his friendship, and that he had the greatest regard for his Majesty's subjects.

"The removing some other objections, started in the course of the treaty, occasioned my making some presents, by way of compliment, for the trouble taken by the officers whom the Bashaw appointed to act with me.

"Accompanying this, you will receive the treaty now executed in English, with the Turkish on the opposite side; counterparts of which remain with the Bashaw and the Consul.

* * * * * * *

"Having thus endeavoured to set my transactions with Tripoli in a clear light, I hope they will meet with the honour of his Majesty's approbation, together with that of their Lordships.

"I am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

——— "A. KEPPEL."*

LETTER II.

MR. CONSUL GORDON TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

"Tunis, January 17, 1750. (1751, O. S.)

"MY LORD DUKE,—The Bashaw (of Tunis) declares he is very desirous to cultivate a lasting friendship with the English, whom he calls his most faithful friends, but does not consider

* Keppel's MSS.

himself in the least bound by the treaties concluded with the late Bashaw, Hassan Bey, his uncle, whom, with the assistance of the Algerines, he dethroned and put to death about sixteen years ago, and is therefore very earnest to have the treaties renewed; not with an intention, he says, of diminishing in the least the privileges now enjoyed by his Majesty's subjects, whom he is desirous to see established in his dominions, and flourishing in their trade, and to whom he is willing to grant advantages superior to what any other nation can, by treaty, lay claim to; but that the treaty between the two nations may run in his own name, and his sovereignty be authentically acknowledged.

"As that sovereignty is now on a different footing from any on the coast of Barbary, I flatter myself your Grace will pardon my trespassing so far on your time, as to give you a short sketch of it.

"Since the Bashaw Ali Bey has been on the throne, he has found means entirely to divest the state officers, divar, and soldiery of that extensive power, which, feeding their ambition with the hopes of a crown, makes them very formidable to the African princes; but reposing a thorough confidence in his sons, he seems secure from the effects of their ambition, which is gratified by having all power, civil and military, in their hands, and a fair prospect of an hereditary succession to the throne. All other places of trust are filled up with renegadoes, whose interest seems inseparable from that of their prince.

"By monopolizing several branches of trade, he has extremely enriched himself, and, by degrees, impoverished those subjects whose wealth and restless disposition gave him apprehensions. The most formidable, indeed, he cut off at his first accession. He has built a magnificent and elegant palace in his Castle of Bardo, and furnished it very richly, where he is served in great state, affecting much the pomp of the East, at the same time that he is very solicitous to be informed of the customs, and furnished with the produce of the West.

"His eldest son, Seedy Unis, is at the head of the army, but seems to be intrusted with nothing but the executive part, being a prince of a weak capacity, cruel, and avaricious.

"The civil government is entirely vested in the second son,

Seedy Mahomet. His consent is necessary to the obtaining any request, and he may be considered as the Grand Vizier of the state. He is said to be a man of great parts, humanity, and affability; gives uncommon attention to business, and is well acquainted with it. He appears fond of strangers; eager to be acquainted with the customs and policies of the Christian States, and laments the ignorance of his countrymen. He is likewise reported to be very well acquainted with chemistry, and a good mechanic.

"The third son attends the Bashaw to camp. His character I have heard little of. It is, however, necessary to make him presents as well as the others, when any affair of consequence is to be transacted: bribery and flattery being the *sine quibus non* of this, as well as all other Mahometan courts.

"And now, my Lord, I am coming to the grand point this Court seems to have in view, with respect to our nation, and which appears to me the main-spring of their present conduct.

"The Genoese had been in possession for some centuries past, of a small island on this coast, called Tabarca, which, by nature and art together, was secure against the whole force this country could bring against it. Here they established the most considerable coral fishery in the Mediterranean, and carried on a very advantageous trade with the inhabitants of the adjacent coast, for corn, wax, oil, and hides.

"About nine years ago the Bashaw, (by help of a private correspondence with the Governor, as it is said,) surprised the place, and took all the inhabitants, to the number of eleven hundred, prisoners. Ever since, the island has lain useless on their hands. The French, I am informed, have offered them very considerable sums for it: a method hardly ever failing of success in this country. But these people have no dependence on the faith of that nation; they say the French are *Senza Fedes*, in practice as well as principle, and are, I am persuaded, apprehensive, that should they put so strong a place in their hands, they would prove a much greater thorn in their sides than the Genoese, whom they have dispossessed.

"However that be, my Lord, the Bashaw has proposed the cession of it, in his letter to his Majesty, and has repeatedly pressed me, with great earnestness, to write to your Grace in such

terms as should immediately procure an answer to be sent to his letter, and a person appointed to renew the treaties, and agree upon the terms of the proposed cession.

"Your Grace, doubtless, knows that these people, when they have once conceived a scheme, are fretful and impatient to a degree of childishness, till it is put in execution; and the French, who have much the most considerable settlement here, will not fail to improve any discontent which too long a delay may occasion.

"I must further observe to your Grace, that as care has not been yet taken to furnish this state with counterparts to passes for their cruisers, they consider their not making prizes of our shipping, as a proof of their great regard to the nation.

"Though the present from the Bashaw to his Majesty is but small, it is a compliment of acknowledgment which they pay to no other nation in alliance with them; though the presents I had the honour of delivering fell considerably short of their expectations, as well as of what the Imperialists, French, Swedes, and Dutch usually send.* "I am, &c.

"CHARLES GORDON."

(*Referred to in p.* 221.)

COLONEL GAGE TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

"New York, January 22, 1756.

"MY DEAR LORD,—My brother has transmitted me your letter to him in Sussex, in which you express yourself with so much kindness in regard to me, that I cannot help telling you I think myself under the greatest obligation to you, for interesting yourself so much in my welfare. I wish the country I am now in would afford me matter to amuse you, or that I could send you pleasing prospects of any advantage likely to be gained to the public service; I am sorry to say, at present I see none.

"Squandering immense sums of public money, filling you at home with great expectations of the success of expeditions, the soldiers rotting in idle camps, closing the campaign with councils

* Keppel's MSS.

of war, and sending home long lists of reasons why the armies could not proceed; committing blunders, and the chiefs blaming each other, were the transactions of last summer to the northward; and unless affairs are turned into another channel, I have small hopes of better success the next campaign. It has been customary with the Governors on this Continent, to represent regular troops as useless in this country, and to set forth the great numbers of men that might be raised in the provinces, better acquainted with the way of making war here, and desiring nothing from home but money. Many have by these means gained power, and enriched themselves; generals, colonels, and captains, have sprung from the law, the shop, the plough, and the fishing-boat. The Government, 'tis much to be apprehended, will now give entire credit to such representations. General Braddock's defeat, and Johnson's victory, the one as shameful as the other was most fortunate and surprising, will confirm them in it. Your Lordship may depend upon it, if the Administration is persuaded into such a belief, and suffer the war here to be managed by American generals, they will sooner or later repent it; all you must expect from hence must be, to have immense sums of money thrown away on fruitless expeditions, without the least economy, which is the last thing considered. An expedition in America is looked upon as a wreck, that every man has a right to plunder as much as he can.

"As I am writing to a soldier, I shall not fear to assert that discipline, however varied, agreeable to the country the war is carried into and the enemy you fight with, will stand the test in all countries, and that regular and irregular troops, headed by an experienced general, will procure success in America, as well as in every other part of the globe. To give you a minute account how our military matters are managed, or not managed, would be more than I could write, or your Lordship find leisure to peruse, and shall only relate one circumstance, by which you may judge of everything else. A large detachment of sick men, of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, were sent from Oswego, where there was a hospital established, to a place two hundred miles distant, called Schenectordy, where there was no hospital, or any proper person to take care of them. Great numbers died on the journey, and about two hundred of the most healthy reached the town. It was the

fate of our regiment, some time after, to be sent there in winter quarters, and I received an order from the General to send a detachment of ours and Pepperell's regiments into the Mohawk's country. The morning of the march, a sergeant of Pepperell's came to inform me that he could not get his men out of their barracks, and they refused to march. Inquiring into the reasons of such behaviour, I found none of the men of these two regiments had received a penny of pay for five weeks, nor had the officers that commanded them received any for them. The places they were lodged in, which are called barracks, stunk enough to infect the air; the men, in general, covered with itch, lice, and nastiness, quite destitute of necessaries, and even those they wore, in a bad condition. I am told the rest of these regiments agree with the sample I have seen; and they have been two or three times on the brink of a mutiny, on account of pay.

"We labour under many difficulties, by its being denied that the Mutiny Act extends to America; the country people harbour our deserters, buy their clothes, accoutrements, &c., without fear, and our recruits are very expensive. If we ask for quarters, we are answered,—'It's against law, and a grievance on the subject.' The General himself gave us this answer, in a frontier town, exposed to the enemy's incursions; and the troops remained encamped in frost and snow till wooden houses were built to receive them, and forty crammed in one room. Representations were made to the Generals, in regard to desertion and quarters, to be laid before a congress of Governors, that were to meet at New York. They met accordingly, but the representations were never mentioned to them.

"You will probably have heard the proposals for raising two more regiments, before this reaches you; but I much doubt the possibility of raising them, or even completing those we have. The troops raising by the different provinces, to protect their frontiers from the incursions of the Indians, prevents numbers, willing to enlist, from entering into the King's service. I hear no talk of raising Irregulars, which, as we have so little interest with the Indians, are very much wanted. Provincials may in some measure answer the end, but a body of light troops, headed by proper officers, and put under subordination and discipline, would be of more service

than double the number of the best militia on the Continent. General Braddock's defeat may, in a great measure, be attributed to the want of Irregulars; his Provincials were armed, clothed, and disciplined, and put on the some footing in every shape with the two regiments; no Indians joining him, no light troops were sent out to gain intelligence, so that the time betwixt the advice of the enemy's approach and their attack was very short. Your Lordship very well knows that an English soldier, when hurried and flustered, soon throws himself into confusion. Some of the accounts of that action mention the detachment under my command to have fallen back on the main body, and thrown it into confusion; as that particular circumstance was not fact, I desired, in a former letter to my brother, that it might be contradicted. If they expect at home success in America, a General must be sent to us; acts of Parliament made to tax the provinces, in proportion to what each is able to bear; to make one common fund, and pursue one general, uniform plan for America. At present the Governors have different schemes, and each province, as is natural, is for securing itself; in short, all affairs here, both military and civil, want a thorough reformation.

"I take the opportunity of sending this by Mr. Pownall, Lieutenant-governor of the Jerseys, who has a more perfect knowledge of this Continent than any person I have met with. He carries some plans and charts, which are said to be finished with more accuracy than any yet extant, and which I imagine his Royal Highness would be glad to see.

"I conclude the 44th regiment is by this time disposed of, and hope H. R. H. may have thought me worthy of it. I am much obliged by your good wishes. I beg my best compliments to my old friend the Commodore, and the Colonel.

"I am, with great regard,
"My dear Lord, &c.
"THOS. GAGE."*

* Lord Albemarle's MSS.

APPENDIX F.—(Referred to in p. 321.)

RETURN OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES EMPLOYED ON THE EXPEDITION COMMANDED BY MAJOR-GENERAL HODGSON.

Head Quarters, Palais, June 30, 1761.

No.	BATTALIONS AND REGIMENTS.	OFFICERS PRESENT.													EFFECTIVES, RANK AND FILE.							Wanting to complete the allowance.			SINCE LAST RETURN.								
		Commission.						Staff.					Non-Commis.												Entertained.	Dead.	Recommended to Chelsea.	Discharged.	Deserted.	Joined.		
		Colonel.	Lt.-Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns and 2nd Lieuts.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Qr. Masters.	Surgeons.	Masters.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Fit for Duty.	Sick.	Sick in the Hospital.	On Furlou.	Recruiting.	Prisoners to Enemy.	Total.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.					Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
3	Lieut.-Gen. Howard's	..	1	1	7	16	7	1	..	1	1	2	30	18	453	39	52	8	6	..	558	..	..	342	6	5	..	..	1	3	4	17
9	Lieut.-Gen. Whitmore's	..	1	..	7	10	6	1	1	1	1	2	28	18	684	58	35	..	..	..	777	..	..	123	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	47
19	Lt.-Gen. Ld. Geo. Beauclerk's	..	1	1	4	15	7	1	1	1	1	2	32	16	663	60	38	1	3	..	765	..	1	135	4	11	..	..	..	6	5	109
21	Lt.-Gen. Lord Panmure's	..	1	1	7	18	7	1	1	1	1	1	28	17	662	40	60	2	6	..	770	..	..	130	1	10	..	..	..	2	2	43
30	Lt.-Gen. Lord Loudon's	..	1	1	6	17	8	1	1	1	1	2	32	19	630	45	81	..	..	..	756	..	..	144	..	9	..	..	..	1	2	21
36	Lt.-Gen. Ld. Robt. Manners's	..	1	1	7	14	8	..	1	1	1	2	33	18	616	46	59	..	7	..	728	..	..	172	..	3	..	1	..	1	..	7
67	Brigadier Lambert's	..	1	1	7	15	7	1	1	1	1	2	33	18	665	63	52	..	..	..	780	..	1	120	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	35
69	Major-Gen. Colville's	..	1	1	5	13	6	..	1	1	1	2	31	19	461	69	78	..	3	..	611	..	..	289	2	12	..	..	..	1	..	29
75	Major-Gen. Boscawen's	..	1	..	7	16	8	1	..	1	1	..	29	18	565	47	22	6	1	..	641	..	..	259	15	1	..	2	..	3	3	6
76	Rufane's. 1st Battalion	..	1	1	3	5	9	1	1	1	1	1	15	15	432	47	9	..	..	..	488	..	..	13	..	1	..	..	..	2	1	23
	2nd Battalion	..	..	1	4	8	9	..	1	1	1	1	22	18	502	38	9	..	..	..	549	..	..	14	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	4
85	Major-Gen. Crawfurd's	..	1	2	9	25	10	..	2	1	1	3	46	29	887	83	32	9	7	..	1018	..	..	382	..	4	..	..	..	2	1	39
90	Lieut.-Col. Morgan's	..	1	..	5	9	4	1	1	1	1	1	17	14	390	88	10	..	..	..	488	..	..	12	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1
97	Lieut.-Col. Steuart's	..	1	..	5	11	5	..	1	1	1	1	19	12	455	72	37	..	..	..	564	..	..	36	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	3
98	Lieut.-Col. Grey's	..	..	1	4	10	5	..	1	1	1	1	20	10	384	24	21	..	..	..	429	..	..	71	..	7	..	2	..	..	..	..
	Total.	..	13	12	87	202	106	9	14	15	15	23	415	259	8449	819	595	26	33	..	9922	..	2	2242	29	86	..	5	1	22	18	384

THE two Letters which follow, having no immediate reference to the Narrative, were omitted in the body of the work :—

COMMODORE KEPPEL TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

" SIR,—The transports were scarcely arrived before Port Louis, with the garrison of Belleisle, when the enemy put soldiers on board them, to prevent their entering the port, or making the least observation. They as hastily obliged them to depart, after the garrison was landed : the exact state of the whole, as well as I have been able to collect, I have now the honour to enclose you.

" By two deserters from the Isle of Groa, we are informed that the enemy have, within these three or four days, landed there from the Main two thousand troops ; that Monsieur d'Acquillon, with the Chevalier de St. Croix, have been examining that island. Our cruisers can plainly see two camps formed upon the island.

" I have very little news to trouble you with, but the account I received yesterday from Sir Thomas Stanhope, in Basque Road ; it seems to be his opinion, which I conclude he has drawn from pilots there, that the enemy may come out of the Charente, armed for battle, at the top of the spring tides. If so, it will be necessary to increase the force with him, as the enemy are fitting nine ships of the line, six or more of which are ready, and his Majesty's squadron is but seven of the line. I have transmitted you the stations of the King's ships under my command ; by it you will see, Sir, that the force is very nicely measured with that of the enemy's. I imagine that this place cannot be left unguarded ; and therefore I dare not lessen the force lower than it is at present, unless I have orders so to do. The Brest squadron may miss and go by the English ships cruising for them, and either call here or come upon Sir Thomas Stanhope. I shall always be uneasy for the squadron under his command, if the enemy should critically get there from Brest at the exact time they are making their attempt to come down the Charente. If I have ship for ship to face what the enemy may bring here, I shall not be the least fearful for the event of a trial with them ; but if force can be spared from England, I should not at this particular moment give it as my opinion to leave anything to an unfortunate or unseen

accident that could be avoided. The enemy have certainly exerted themselves greatly in their naval equipments, and far beyond my expectations. You may rest sure, Sir, of my constant attention to their motions, and doing with the King's ships under my command, all that is in my power, for the honour of his arms.

"I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, Sir,

"Your most obedient and most humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL.

"Valiant, in Belleisle Road, the 18th June, 1761."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

("*Private.*)

"SIR,—The inactivity of my present situation would incline me to apply to return to England, if I could imagine anything more desirable there was likely to offer for employment. As our service now seems to depend upon the enemy's moving, I must rather trust to them than be troublesome to my friends on my own behalf; and shall therefore remain here with content as long as the troops continue, and even after that, (if it is required,) as long as my health permits of my carrying on the King's service. The neutral vessels tell us of the enemy's collecting small craft upon this coast. The island, with the present number of troops, may bid defiance to the enemy's efforts; when part of them are taken away, I should think the trial will be more worth their risking, if they attempt it by surprise in the night. I own I could wish the island was now properly secured by cannon round the different landings. It must soon be considered that the naval force here cannot lay at the extremities of the island for its succour, as it has hitherto done, and cannot in any shape operate in the winter nights against a surprise, though it might be of every use if an enemy attempted their attack by day. I shall, in October, be obliged to collect the ships in the safest road here; and even in this road I fear transports might suffer in the severe gales of wind customary in winter. I hope Colonel Crauford will write his ideas fully, as it does not become me to meddle in the business of the other profession.

"The enemy have been so lucky as to get a two-deck ship safe into Port Louis, and pass the very track of two ships in the opening; the haziness of the weather must have favoured her escape.

"I have troubled you, Sir, in my public letter, with a short account of the loss of a French privateer upon the coast of Spain, as I feared the Spanish Court might have made some complaint, though they certainly have no real cause. She was wrecked when our sloops were at a considerable distance, without ever having once fired at her, or even shewed her colours; and what the King's officers did afterwards was in consequence of humanity and pity—a character that belongs to the English. The French at that instant were pleased with the behaviour of the officers, and took the help and protection that were offered. They now want to be released: that has not appeared to me to be their right, and I have therefore sent them to England as prisoners. One of the King's sloops lay in a little Spanish creek, a few days before, with this same privateer; and such was Captain Ellis's regard for the neutrality of the port, that he did not offer to molest the French, though, in this creek, the Spaniards had not one gun mounted.

"I am, Sir, with great respect,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"A. KEPPEL.

"Valiant, Belleisle Road, Aug. 19th, 1761."

END OF VOL. I.

T. C. Saville, Printer, 107, St. Martin's-lane.

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